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INTEGRATION OR SEGREGATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES
FOR PUBLIC HOUSING TENANTS

by



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A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance a thesis entitled "Integration or Segregation of Social Services for Public Housing Tenants," submitted by Vee Lynne Pearson in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an exploratory study into the question of whether such social services as public health clinics, recreation, counselling, and upgrading programs should be provided directly to tenants of public housing projects within the projects or whether the tenants should be required to integrate into social service programs which are provided to the community at large.

The research for the study included interviews and correspondence with public housing tenants and workers and administrators of various social service and housing agencies. Research focused on the city of Ottawa and six major public housing projects there. A search of the literature was also carried out.

Results of the thesis suggest that recreation and social facilities should be provided on the grounds of public housing projects. It further suggests that social services which are also open to members of the surrounding community should be provided within these facilities. Residents of the project and the surrounding community should participate in the planning and delivery of these services. In order to enable the tenants to acquire the abilities necessary to participate in the planning and delivery of services and to gain in self-confidence and the ability to work together, a community development worker to help the tenants organize is required. Integration with the outside community will likely follow as a second step.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

(Public Housing) has provided, in the physical sense at least, "decent, safe and sanitary dwellings." Roofs don't leak in public housing; the plumbing works; and the rats are gone. In that sense it has been an improvement on the slums. More and more, however, the issue has become the exclusivity of public housing as the only method of meeting the accommodation needs of the low-income groups and, equally important, the psychological and social issues just as crucial to the well-being of these groups as their needs for safety and sanitation. Yet amid these growing issues, public housing continues in Canada to stand alone and almost unchallenged as the sole answer to the problems of low-income housing.

Public housing in Canada is a relatively recent phenomenon. In 1949, the National Housing Act was amended to authorize joint federal-provincial participation in public housing projects. Enabling legislation had to be passed by the provinces. The first major public housing project in Canada was Regent Park in Toronto which was completed in 1957. At that time advocates of public housing were optimistic that it would solve not only problems of inadequate and unhealthy living conditions, but also problems that they considered to be directly related, such as juvenile delinquency.² However, both the advocates and the opponents have since become more aware of the realities of public housing, and widespread concern is being expressed about physical, social and psychological problems related to public housing.

The Need for Research

Awareness of a need for research into various aspects of public housing is growing. Albert Rose, Director of the University of Toronto's School of Social Work and a member of the Board of Directors of the Ontario Housing Corporation, discussed this need in an article in Ontario Housing:

Indeed, we know almost nothing about most families who apply for publicly provided housing accommodation. We know very little about their motivation; we know very little about their expectations as they enter a public housing dwelling; we know very little about their reasons for leaving; and we know very little, in fact almost nothing, about their future accommodation in urban areas. And yet throughout this process we have expended hundreds of hours and effort and thousands and thousands of dollars in attempting to help families who apparently could not be helped. If we have not been able to help them, the fault may rest somewhere in their own pathology, or it may rest within the arrangements we have employed in our own program.³

The former mayor of Ottawa, Don B. Reid, stated in the same magazine:

Those of us engaged in the elective business of government cannot act competently until we are provided with the vital data and the required philosophy which can only be evolved by the specialists. Frankly, we don't know enough.⁴

Michael Wheeler, who at the time was Executive Secretary to the Canadian Conference on Housing, proposed in January of 1967 a program of research on the social aspects of low-income housing.⁵ In his words, ". . . we still have far to go in developing a body of theory that can serve as a reliable guide to policy decisions in the social aspects of housing."⁶

The focus of this thesis will be in the area of social and psychological aspects of public housing. There are many areas of public housing in which research is required. One might investigate alternative methods of providing

housing for low-income families. One might consider the physical design of projects or alternative methods of financing. It is the personal view of the author that this is the area in which the greatest amount of research is necessary. One of the recommendations of the Hellyer Task Force Report on Housing and Urban Development was that:

The Federal Government initiate a thorough research program into the economic, social and psychological issues of public housing. Until such a study is completed and assessed no new large projects should be undertaken.⁷

Formulation of the Problem

This thesis focuses on one issue related to the social and psychological problems of public housing. Should specific social service programs*, such as, public health, recreation, counselling, etc. be provided separately for public housing residents, or should the residents be required to integrate into regular social service programs provided for the community at large? The choice of this topic resulted from a suggestion by the City of Ottawa, Department of Recreation and Parks. Members of this department expressed the need for such a study because they had to deal with the realities of the question but had very little information to draw upon. The Ottawa City Council had required the department to provide 12 day camps for the summer of 1970 with 90 percent of the children coming from public housing projects and 10 percent from the surrounding community on the recommendation of public health nurses. The department was also concerned with the related questions of whether or not a municipal government

*Social service programs are defined for the purpose of this thesis as programs in the fields of public health, welfare, recreation, and education which are designed to enhance the well-being of citizens.

department should spend money provided from tax revenues for programs which are restricted to a certain group of people.

Before deciding upon the topic for investigation, the author consulted the Ottawa Housing Authority; the need for a study of this particular issue was confirmed. This need was also confirmed by various social service workers and administrators from other agencies in Ottawa.

Ottawa was chosen as the place of investigation because the author was familiar with some of the history and problems of public housing there and because public housing has been in existence in Ottawa for 10 years, one of the longest time spans for such programs in Canada.

Methodology

This thesis is a formulative or exploratory study which Selltitz, Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook define as a study "to gain familiarity with a phenomenon or to achieve new insights into it, often in order to formulate a more precise research problem."⁸ It is hoped that new insights will be gained into the question of restricted or integrated social service programs for public housing residents.

The primary method of research was interviewing and corresponding with public housing tenants and workers and administrators of social service and housing agencies. Focused interview were used with all interviewees. The method of approaching tenants in public housing projects was discussed with the Tenants Relations Supervisor of the Ottawa Housing Authority. Her opinion, which was shared by the author, was that a general survey using questionnaire or interview

techniques in one or more of the projects would infringe on the privacy of the tenants. Therefore, the author decided to obtain information from the tenants by way of tenants' associations and mothers groups. The author decided to concentrate her inquiry on tenants in the six largest projects near which the day camps would be placed. The author talked with members of tenants' associations in four of the projects: Pinecrest Terrace, Ridgemont Terrace, Confederation Court, and Britannia Woods. She also spoke with members of mothers groups in Confederation Court and Pinecrest Terrace. She decided not to approach anyone in the Russell Heights project because it appeared from discussion with workers and tenants in other projects that there was stress between factions in that project. The author did not want to increase the tension by approaching one of the groups as if it represented the entire project. The association in the Rochester Heights project also appeared to be going through a difficult stage. The superintendent of the project, an employee of the Ottawa Housing Authority, was the president of the association. This is prohibited by the Authority. The author spoke briefly to this man and to a few other residents from the project. No attempt was made to meet with the association.

The author also approached the Ottawa Tenant Council of Public Housing. This council had been formed in the spring of 1970 to represent all of the public housing projects in the city of Ottawa.

Nineteen workers who were involved directly with public housing tenants were interviewed, as were administrators in various social service and housing agencies. The author compiled what she felt was a suitable list of social service

workers to be interviewed but found that this list greatly expanded upon recommendations from workers and from tenants.

A search of the literature was also carried out. The author discovered very little information available that was directly related to the thesis question, and the little that was available came mostly from reports, magazine articles, and miscellaneous mimeographed materials, e.g., transcriptions of speeches.

The final component of the research methodology was a survey conducted with children at the day camps provided during the summer of 1970.

Limitations on the Study

If one had a substantial amount of money and were able to convince politicians, developers, and administrators of community services of its value, the question of restricted or integrated social services for public housing residents could be more vigorously explored. One could possibly study two public housing projects of similar size, composition, design and location. Residents of one project could be required to integrate into the existing social services available to the total community of which the project is a part, and residents of the other project could be provided with direct social services on the grounds of their project. Use of services, integration of residents into the community, attitudes, and type and extent of social problems could then be examined. However, our projects and community services are not organized at the present time to facilitate such an experiment. One must, therefore, look at the question of restricted or integrated services in a less rigorous manner.

One difficulty related to the methodology used by the author is in the technique of obtaining opinions of public housing tenants through their tenants' associations. One has to look at the question of whether or not the views of members of the association are representative of the views of the general tenant population. One also has difficulty when a particular project has no tenants' association or when there are disputes between two or more factions in the project. These difficulties may be partially overcome by comparing views expressed by residents in various projects and making use only of those held by residents in more than one project. Although one may possibly overlook a problem which is peculiar to an individual project, if the material from this thesis is to be generalized, then using data common to more than one project may be more valuable.

Another problem involves generalizing the information from this thesis because the material was obtained only in Ottawa. The interviews with residents and workers were, in fact, done primarily there. However, physical, social and psychological problems similar to those of the residents in public housing in Ottawa have been expressed by public housing residents in Vancouver,⁹ Winnipeg,¹⁰ and Toronto.¹¹

Another difficulty encountered by the author related to the survey conducted with children at the day camps. Methodology, results, and usefulness of survey will be discussed in Chapter 5, but it should be noted here that one of the major purposes of the survey was to find out how children felt about being in a restricted program. The questions related to this had to be removed from the survey

just before it was conducted because the camps, which were to have been restricted to 90 percent children from public housing projects and 10 percent children recommended by the public health nurses from the area, had to be opened to the public in view of the fact that not enough children registered from the projects.

Plan of the Study

In the following chapters, this thesis will examine the question of whether specific social service programs should be provided separately for public housing residents or whether residents should be required to integrate into regular social service programs which are provided for the community at large. Chapter Two will examine the need for subsidized housing and discuss the concept of home ownership.

Chapter Three will deal with the physical, social, and psychological problems of living in public housing and describe the reaction of public housing residents to participation in segregated social service programs.

Chapter Four will concern itself with the views and experiences of social service workers and administrators with regard to delivery of social services to public housing residents. Recommendations of various studies and reports will also be discussed.

Chapter Five will focus on the day camps which were provided by the City of Ottawa, Department of Recreation and Parks and the Ottawa Housing Authority during the summer of 1970. Details, planning, and registration of the camp will be outlined. Results of the survey among the children will be detailed, and the need to open the camps to the public will be discussed.

Chapter Six will suggest alternatives to the delivery of social services to public housing residents and will offer conclusions and recommendations.

FOOTNOTES

¹Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, Report (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 53.

²Albert Rose, Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), pp. 153-168.

³Albert Rose, "Social Aspects of Public Housing," Ontario Housing. Conference Issue, 1967, pp. 20-27.

⁴Don B. Reid, "Ottawa Mayor Wants Indoor Recreation Space in Public Housing Projects," Ontario Housing, Conference Issue, 1967, pp. 9-11.

⁵Michael Wheeler, "Social Aspects of Low-Income Housing," Ottawa, 1967. (Mimeographed).

⁶Ibid., p. 1.

⁷Task Force, op. cit., p. 55.

⁸C. Selltiz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1959), p. 50.

⁹Joan Adams, A Tenant Looks at Public Housing Projects (Vancouver: United Community Services of the Greater Vancouver Area, 1968).

¹⁰Video-tape recording done by tenants in the Lord Selkirk Place public housing project in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

¹¹Anna Bowman, Unit Supervisor, Warden Woods Community Services, Toronto, Interview, Toronto, June 29, 1970.

CHAPTER II

SUBSIDIZED HOUSING OR HOME OWNERSHIP

Before it is possible to discuss the social and psychological problems of living in public housing that will be examined in the next chapter, one must understand why it is necessary to have subsidized housing in Canada. This chapter will also discuss the concept of home ownership.

The Need for Subsidized Housing

There are two major reasons why subsidized housing is necessary in Canada. One is that there are an increasing number of families who do not have an income sufficient to buy their own homes, and in some cases, even to pay rent for accommodation which meets even their minimum needs. The second is the fact that there are not sufficient living units available to house the population in units which come up to the minimum standards set by municipalities.

Both the Report of the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development and the book, The Right to Housing, note that the financial inability to own one's own home now not only relates to the lower third of income groups in the country, but is reaching into the middle class. The Task Force Found:

. . . ample evidence of imperfection within the existing market mechanism. Housing is a universal need, yet the private market on which Canadians have relied is anything but universal in its present scope and application. Housing, in a word, is too expensive for too many Canadians.¹

There are three major costs to housing. One is the cost of construction, which has increased considerably in the last few years because of increasing costs of labor, building materials, and taxes on those materials. The second factor is the cost of land. There are many reasons for the high cost of land including speculation, inflation, and limited quantity, but the major reason is the cost of such services as roads, sewers, electricity and education, which some municipalities now include in their charge to the developer. The third factor is the vastly increased cost of financing housing. The availability of funds, and interest rates, are the major factors here. Wolfgang Illing in The Right to Housing suggests, "The rise in interest rates from about six percent to about nine percent has added more to the monthly payment of an average mortgage than a \$5,000 increase in the price of the building lot would have added without a change in the interest rate."²

Michael Wheeler comments that:

For [thousands of low-income families] there is no question of turning their housing needs into effective demand because they don't have the money to do it and their only hope of obtaining decent housing depends on some form of subsidy.³

In an article in the Toronto Telegram, Paul Hellyer stated:

In a free country there is no freedom to build a small house in a city like Toronto. The planners, officials, and politicians will not allow it. Of course, their "plans" do permit the little man and his family to crowd into an apartment barely large enough for a couple without children. And the plans do permit the building of subsidized "instant slums" which are then pointed to as evidence of what we are doing for those "poor" people. What the plans do not provide for is a small house suited to modest incomes.⁴

An increasing number of people in Canada cannot buy, and in some cases cannot even rent, suitable housing without some form of subsidization. The difficulties which cause this are well documented and analyzed in the Report of the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development. The Task Force also found that the financial difficulties were aggravated by a general housing shortage. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation estimates at the time of the Task Force in late 1968 there were approximately 5,500,000 housing units in Canada to serve a market of approximately 5,700,000 family and non-family users. Of these, at least 500,000 units were in substandard condition.⁵ Urban renewal studies in many urban Canadian centres have documented the amount and type of inadequate housing with which a considerable percentage of their citizens are trying to cope.

Subsidization is a fact of life in Canada. In a speech to the 1970 Canadian Conference on Social Welfare, Michael Audain pointed out that:

It is instructive to compare the 60 cents per capita which was the federal contribution to housing subsidies in 1969 with per capita expenditures such as \$5.73 for railway subsidies, \$6.20 for dairy subsidies, and \$86.22 for defence.

He also noted that:

Let us remember that the most highly subsidized groups today are the middle and upper classes who, by ensuring that their children effectively occupy most university seats, and by making very liberal use of our publicly subsidized cultural institutions and recreation services consume enormous amounts of public subsidy. In the area of housing, upper and middle income Canadians have benefited very significantly over the years from below market interest rates conferred in the form of NHA mortgages.⁷

Up until 1965, only two percent of public funds provided under the National Housing Act were going to finance public housing under Sections 35A and 35D. (See Appendix 1.) Since that time, the percentage has increased to 20 percent.⁸

The need for subsidization of housing, particularly for the low-income groups, was perhaps summed up best by David V. Donnison at the Canadian Conference on Housing in 1968, when he said:

We are talking about the character and quality of the society we are creating for our children to live in, the opportunities it will offer, and the human relationships it will foster. The good society cannot be built with houses alone, but, without good housing for all its members, it cannot be built at all.⁹

The Concept of Home Ownership

Throughout Canada, people desire to own their own homes. It is a matter of status and prestige and is considered by some to be the mark of a good citizen. Bellush and Hausknecht suggest that home ownership is a visible sign of individual success.¹⁰ Municipalities reinforce the concept of home owners as good citizens by allowing only them to vote on financial questions.

The Task Force found that home ownership was the dream of many Canadians, including those in lower income groups:

With the possible exception of the "sweat equity" co-operative housing program in eastern Nova Scotia, the Task Force could find no effective or organized system in Canada whereby lower-income families could aspire to home ownership.

That they do aspire to it--as indeed most Canadians do--was one of the more unanimous impressions the Task Force evolved from its cross-country tour.¹¹

It has been suggested by some students of Canadian housing policy that the federal government has encouraged and supported the concept of home ownership. In a review of Canadian government housing policy for the Canadian Conference on Housing, Albert Rose stated, "The best conclusion concerning national housing policy from 1945 through 1964 is that the government of Canada was strongly in favor of the attainment of home ownership by every family."¹²

Unfortunately, the emphasis on home ownership has caused many Canadians to question the character of those who are unable to attain this goal.

Dr. Rose went on to say:

This dedication to a single objective within a national housing policy inevitably implied neglect of more direct public intervention in the housing market on behalf of rented accommodation for low-income families, defined as those in the lowest third of the income distribution. When a substantial degree of national resources and national effort are devoted towards making every Canadian family a homeowner, then there is a special kind of label, a special taint or blight to be placed upon those families who, despite all the favorable manipulations in the basic policy, cannot afford a home of their own.¹³

Michael Wheeler in an address given to the Annual Conference of Mayors and Municipalities in 1967 told the delegates, "Our culture makes it difficult to accept the proposition that people's housing conditions are first and foremost a function of income and not of character."¹⁴

FOOTNOTES

¹Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, Report (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 14.

²Michael Wheeler, ed., The Right to Housing (Montreal: Harvest House Limited, 1969), p. 154.

³Michael Wheeler, "The Housing Crisis and Public Policy," Address given at the Annual Conference of Mayors and Municipalities, Montreal, Quebec, July 24, 1967, p. 5. (Mimeographed.)

⁴Paul Hellyer, "The Housing Mess," Toronto Telegram, October 17, 1970, reprinted in Housing and People, December, 1970, pp. 7-9.

⁵Task Force, op. cit., p. 14.

⁶Michael Audain, "Housing as a Social Program," Address given to the 1970 Canadian Conference on Social Welfare, Toronto, June 16, 1970, pp. 10-11. (Mimeographed.)

⁷Ibid., p. 9.

⁸Wheeler, The Right to Housing, p. 264.

⁹Ibid., p. 240.

¹⁰Jewel Bellush and Murray Hausknecht, eds., Urban Renewal: People, Politics and Planning, (Garden City, New York: Anchor Brooks, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1967), p. 454.

¹¹Task Force, op. cit., p. 15.

¹²Wheeler, The Right to Housing, p. 85.

¹³Wheeler, op. cit., p. 86.

¹⁴Wheeler, "The Housing Crisis and Public Policy," p. 8.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF LIVING IN PUBLIC HOUSING TENANTS' VIEWS

The big housing projects, in the view of the Task Force, have become ghettos of the poor. They do have too many "problem" families without adequate social services and too many children without adequate recreational facilities. There is a serious lack of privacy and an equally serious lack of pride which leads only to physical degradation of the premises themselves. The common rent-geared-to-income formulas do breed disincentive and a "what's the use" attitude toward self and income improvement. There is a social stigma attached to life in a public housing project which touches its inhabitants in many aspects of their daily lives. If it leads to bitterness and alienation among parents, it creates puzzlement and resentment among their children.¹

The Task Force Report on Housing and Urban Development which was published in January 1969 had many critical things to say about the concept of public housing itself and about the problems created by public housing.² Although it recommended that the "Federal Government initiate a thorough research program into the economic, social and psychological issues of public housing" and that "Until such a study is completed and assessed, no new large projects should be undertaken."³ increased amounts of money were allocated to the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation by the federal government for use in financing public housing projects. The 1969 Annual Report of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation states:

The Task Force on Housing and Urban Development raised many questions about the psychological and other difficulties of large public housing projects. Nevertheless, because of a pressing need in many parts of Canada, high priority was given to a continuation of assistance for increasing the supply of housing for low-income groups. Concurrently, discussions with the provinces were intensified with a view to improving the physical and social characteristics of public housing.⁴

It is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss the political, economic, or moral aspects of this decision. However, it is its purpose to outline just what some of the social and psychological problems of living in public housing are. Physical problems will also be mentioned because they, in many cases, lead to social or psychological problems. Most of the material outlined was obtained from discussions with tenants of public housing projects and with social service workers.

In Canada today there are approximately 148,000⁵ units of housing which have been financed under Sections 35A or 35D of the National Housing Act since 1951. These do not include hostel accommodations. This means that there are a large number of families in Canada at present who are trying to cope with the social and psychological problems of living in public housing. The City of Ottawa has approximately 1,800 units, with about 800 more to be made available shortly. These units house approximately 10,000 people.

Positive Effects of Public Housing

Before discussing the problems related to living in public housing, it should be pointed out that there are likely to be some positive effects also, although

these do not appear to be researched or documented.⁷ The Task Force stated:

It would agree that many of the problems stem from a lack of income rather than merely a form of housing, but it would add that every sign indicates that public housing does nothing to reduce the root problems of poverty, while increasing many of them and adding new ones of its own.⁸

In a booklet entitled A Tenant Looks at Public Housing Projects published by the United Community Services of the Greater Vancouver Area, the author states the following:

This book, then, is offered to all those concerned with the planning and administration of such projects. It is given in a spirit of goodwill--particularly toward the many architects who, faced with the requirement that they put an economical roof over as many heads as possible within a given area, have come up with housing that is in the main so comfortable that living in it almost compensates for not having a place of one's own.⁹

Marvin Lipman in The Right to Housing says:

There are many positive social effects resulting from public housing. It is generally good housing, allowing those in the low-income range to live in a much better home than they could find or afford on the private market. Although some adjustments are required in the present rent scale to increase its flexibility, rentals are based on income, so that the proportion of the household budget devoted to housing is in line with an accepted community standard. The management in many cases is considerate of the kinds of problems that low-income families face and can be more flexible than the private landlord in helping with these problems.¹⁰

In a study of The Social Implications of Public Housing in Metropolitan Toronto, it was found that "the majority of families felt that they had been helped, at least financially, by their public housing experience."¹¹

Social and Psychological Problems

Stigma

The reasons why--One of the major reasons why a stigma is attached to people living in public housing involves the connotations of home ownership which were discussed in the preceding chapter. The character of residents of public housing is under suspicion, because not only are they unable to buy their own homes, they cannot even pay their own rents. But there are other factors causing stigma; these are enunciated in the booklet A Tenant Looks at Public Housing Projects. They are summarized as follows:

1. A feeling of difference because many are one-parent families.
2. Many are on Social Assistance--"The public feels we should bow down."
3. Size and density of many projects make them look like gaols--"All that's missing are the guards with rifles."
4. Attitude of authority that it is a privilege to live in a housing project, and that they have a right to investigate personal lives.
5. Despair generated by large number of people who can't get up the ladder economically. There should be retraining projects.¹²

Derogatory remarks--Discussions with tenants in various public housing projects in Ottawa indicated that there did not seem to be one resident in the projects who had not experienced some discrimination or been the butt of some derogatory remarks because he was a public housing tenant.

"Those people"-- Children and teenagers seemed to be affected most by feelings of fear and shame. They would hear children at school talking about people in public housing, and they would see people on television commenting about "those people" who live in the projects.

Projects easily identifiable--Public housing projects are easily identifiable by members of the general public. They are often physically different from housing in the surrounding neighborhood; for example, row housing in a neighborhood of single family dwellings. They are also easily identifiable by address. In Ottawa, every block of units has the same number, such as 73, and the units are 73A, 73B, 73C, etc. Most often all of the units have the same street name, no matter what relationship the unit has to the street. For example, all of the 180 units in Britannia Woods have Ritchie Street for their address.

The problem of being easily identifiable physically makes it easy for middle-class neighbors or passersby to reinforce their prejudices about public housing residents if they see a rowdy party taking place, dirty children, or a make or model of car which they feel low-income people should not be driving.

What can be done--Two of the tenants at a workshop on tenant management suggested that if the projects were not so large and so concentrated, tenants could mix with other people in the community, and the rest of the community "would not be looking down on you because you would be a participating member."¹³ This is substantiated in an interview with the Community Relations Supervisor of the Ottawa Housing Authority who said that there were very few problems created by the small projects of 30 to 40 units and that the residents of these projects were able

to integrate into the community.¹⁴ However, when one considers the other social and psychological problems related to living in public housing which are outlined in this chapter, one might question whether simply building smaller, less densely concentrated projects would really solve the problem of stigma.

Stereotyping

A number of families who have moved into public housing in Ottawa have come from an urban renewal area called Lower Town. Many had been home owners before urban renewal and many had had active patterns of neighboring and had made use of small grocery stores where the owner was more of a friend than a service man and where credit was given. After moving into public housing these people would approach stores about obtaining credit. Yes, they could obtain credit. However, when they put down their address, they were told that credit was not given to residents of public housing projects. They could argue that they had a good credit rating, that they always paid their bills on time, but to no avail.

This happened not only in Ottawa. A social service worker in Toronto told the author that the cash registers in the Dominion store nearest the Warden Woods public housing project have signs on them stating that cheques will not be accepted from people living on the following streets.¹⁵ The streets listed are the streets of the Warden Woods project.

When the author talked to mothers in the projects, a common concern was that their children were stereotyped by teachers at school. The children are considered dirty, lazy, rowdy, and stupid, as are their mothers in many cases. The

women were willing to admit that some of the children from the projects could be classified as such and did cause problems in school. But they resented teachers' assuming that all children from public housing projects were like this.

Size and Density

The size and density of public housing projects are one aspect of them which is criticized most often. The Task Force expressed concern about the size of projects and recommended a moratorium on larger projects.¹⁶ Marvin Lipman at the Canadian Conference on Housing said:

. . . public housing tends to concentrate large numbers of low-income families in a small area. Although few of these families are problem families, it is true that the facts of low income and large families tend to produce problems. These problems may result from the difficulty in keeping up in an affluent and rapidly changing society, from limited education, from some form of social pathology, or from the large concentration of children in public housing projects.¹⁷

Public housing projects are areas of high concentration of people. The average density for a suburban area is 6.5 units per acre, or 27 persons per acre.¹⁸ Examples of the densities of some of the projects in Ottawa are shown in Table 1. One can see that these projects have a large number of children and teenagers. This leads to many difficulties, particularly when combined with problems related to the design of the projects.

Poor Design and Planning

An Ottawa tenant speaking at the Workshop on Tenant Management said that:

TABLE I
DENSITIES OF PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS
(OTTAWA)

PROJECT	# of Units	Units/Acre	Estim. Pop.	Estimated Persons/Acre	Est. # Children
Britannia Woods	180	14.2	1061	84	755
Confederation Court	136	25	873	160	636
Pinecrest Terrace	124	13.5	613	67	414
Ridgemont Terrace	120	17	666	94	474
Rochester Heights	104	17	517	85	354
Russell Heights	160	16	929	93	644

Source: Ottawa Housing Authority, interview, June 25, 1970, and letter dated March 10, 1971.

. . . living in such close proximity to each other, [tenants] have infinitely more effect psychologically upon each other than they would in another community. This is why you get so many confrontations. It arises, I think, from the design of the development.¹⁹

The living units are designed for economy, both of space and of materials.

The booklet entitled A Tenant Looks at Public Housing, examines closely some of the physical and social problems created by the design of the projects.²⁰

The units in the projects are very close together. One woman in Ottawa said that she finds it disturbing to look out of her unit and see twenty units one way, twenty units another way, twenty units a third way, and so on. The design makes privacy very difficult. Units in some projects have partial fences around a small piece of ground at the back of the units. If the tenant wishes to have the fence completed, he must pay for materials to have the section made the same as the rest of the fence. Needless to say, few tenants can afford to do this. Because there is no private outdoor space, small children cannot be left unattended, for fear that an older child may hurt them. Personal toys and play equipment cannot be left out lest they be stolen. Parents cannot relax outside without being overrun by neighbors' children.

Finding a particular unit within a project is made difficult by the physical design. As one teenager stated, "If ever I'm supposed to meet anyone who doesn't live in the project, they tell me to meet them outside the project because they won't be able to find my place."²¹

Another concern related to design is the matter of high-rise projects.

Ottawa is just entering this field with the building of two projects--Medford McBride, which will include two high-rise towers containing 477 units, and a project in Lower Town which will contain 318 units. Many studies in the United States state that the problems related to high-rise projects are complicated and extreme.²² On the other hand, European studies such as Danish Town Planning and Danish Housing²³ indicate that high-rises can be suitable for families with children, if they are properly designed and provide adequate recreational facilities. Robert Andras, the federal cabinet minister responsible for housing, expressed concern about high-rise projects in a speech to the House of Commons on April 21, 1970. He said:

The high-rise apartment is admirably suited to the requirements of many prospective public housing tenants, especially our elderly citizens who want very much to remain in the downtown areas of our cities. But such accommodation in its present form is not the most suitable for families with a number of small children.²⁴

However, it would appear that the concern about problems created by high-rise living for families is being ignored, for high-rise projects are being built.

Location of Projects

There are three main difficulties related to the location of public housing projects. These are the social relationship with the surrounding neighborhood, the physical relationship with the neighborhood, and transportation. The majority of the public housing projects in Ottawa are built in the suburbs.

Suburbs--Frequently, residents of the projects have lived in downtown areas before moving into public housing. When discussing the problem of forcing

residents of urban renewal areas out of their homes and neighborhoods, often into public housing, a social service worker at a seminar on integration of physical and social planning said:

The people in this community are concerned to know if they do get relocated in public housing what social services will be available, what educational services. Home owner-ship has status, and they see going into public housing as a diminishing of status They also see certain factors that make it agreeable for them to stay within an area they are familiar with. A suburban area doesn't offer any attraction. They're frightened of the unknown, the world outside. Many of them have for a long time not even crossed a major street into another community or another area. Therefore to move into an alien or hostile community would be quite a problem.²⁵

Middle income areas--Public housing projects are frequently built in middle income areas. Before each project was built, displeasure was expressed by members of the surrounding neighborhood. There was fear that property values would decrease. There was also fear that recreation and school facilities would not be able to cope with the large number of children expected to live in the project. In many cases, petitions against the project were passed by the neighbors.²⁶ It is interesting to note a decision made by the Ontario Municipal Board on February 22, 1971.²⁷ The Corporation of the City of Ottawa had passed a by-law in October, 1970, changing a section of land zoned as a residential holding zone and a light industrial zone to a low density residential zone, a medium density residential zone, and a limited commercial use zone. A 420 unit public housing project was proposed for the area. The Pinecrest Community Association appealed the by-law to the Ontario Municipal Board. The Association objected to the increased density and to the manner in which the proposed development

had been planned, and ". . . some stated that they preferred industrial development to that which is proposed."^{28, 29}

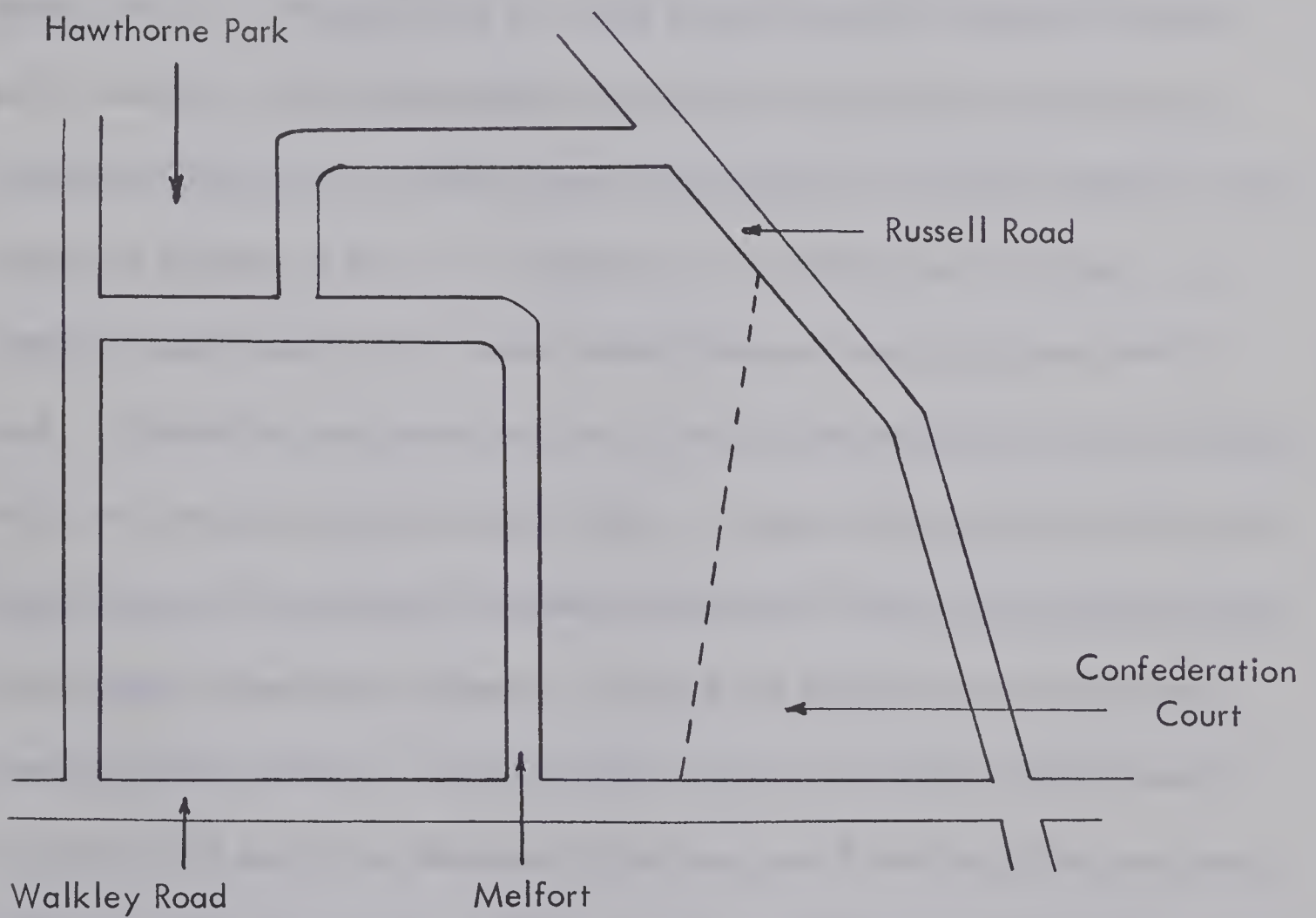
In a radio documentary on public housing in Ottawa, neighbors outside the projects admitted that they had initially been hostile to the residents of the project.³⁰ Demands were made on civic officials for the building of fences and screens so that the project would be cut off both physically and visually from the rest of the neighborhood. Such requests were sometimes complied with, as in the case of Confederation Court, where a chain link fence runs between the project and the neighboring homes, as illustrated in Figure 1. Although chain link fences surrounding projects may be justified in industrial areas,³¹ the situation at Confederation Court creates unnecessary difficulties. If a gate were provided in the fence and a pathway made between houses onto Melfort Street, Hawthorne playground would be approximately two blocks away from the project. However, with the fence as it is, children must go out onto either Russell Road or Walkley Road, both of which are busy main roads used by trucks and have no sidewalks, and they must circle the neighborhood to reach the playground (Figure 1).

Low income areas--One might be tempted to suggest that public housing projects should be built only in lower income neighborhoods. However, this is not the answer. Sylvia Goldblatt, in her thesis on "Social Integration or Isolation Among Residents of Public Housing Projects" found that:

The houses in the Warden Woods project are, in many cases, an improvement over what is to be found in the neighborhood. This fact has given rise to a good deal of resentment on the part of

Figure 1

FENCE BETWEEN CONFEDERATION COURT
AND SURROUNDING NEIGHBORHOOD



neighbors. They feel that someone is being handed, on a silver platter, something that they had to work for all their lives.³²

It seems that there is opposition from the surrounding neighborhood no matter where public housing is placed. Perhaps what is really needed is an education of the public, particularly in neighborhoods where public housing is to be situated. This education would involve the understanding of why public housing is necessary and of the kinds of people who will be living in public housing.

Transportation--Because many of the projects in Ottawa are on the outskirts of the city, transportation is a major physical problem related to living in public housing. Most of the residents do not have any private means of transportation and must rely on public buses which operate on a limited schedule in the suburbs on the edge of the city. Infrequency is a problem; but so is cost. In Ottawa an adult fare is thirty cents; student fares are twenty-five cents with a card. Children five and under ride free. Many of the projects are a long way from social services such as public health clinics. It seems unlikely that families would spend money on transportation to attend such clinics for preventive purposes which do not appear immediately necessary. Projects are also far from such services as stores and movie theatres. This means that a woman may have to add 60 cents to her grocery bill every time she goes to the store, and if she has to take any young children over five years of age with her, this cost will increase. It also means that if a mother of three children wishes to send her children to a movie, in addition to the cost of the movie, she must also supply \$1.50 for bus fare. This makes recreation of this nature prohibitive.

Economic Difficulties

As was pointed out earlier in this thesis, the Task Force suggested that some problems in public housing are related as much to income as they are to form of housing. However, the type and location of housing often aggravate the income problem. Transportation costs, as noted above, increase. If the project is in a middle income area, as many of them are, the children will be associating in school with children who have much more money for snacks, sports equipment, clothes, and recreation than do the children from the public housing project.

Reporting on a workshop on the quality of the residential environment, Michael Audain said that the public housing residents who had attended "surprisingly said that on the whole they would prefer to live with people in a fairly similar income group rather than to be entirely integrated into the community."³³

The economic difficulties of many of the families in public housing make it difficult for them to adapt to the "pay-as-you-go" philosophy of recreation which is prevalent in most Canadian municipalities. Because of the great expense involved in the delivery of recreation services to citizens of the municipality, the municipality is required to ask people to pay a minimal fee for use of such facilities as swimming pools and indoor skating rinks and for many sports, crafts, and other activity programs. Although these fees are in many cases quite small, the cost can add up quickly if a family has a number of children and can very often be prohibitive.

Lack of Recreation Space and Facilities

The most common problem mentioned by residents in discussions with the author was the lack of recreation space and facilities. They suggested the need for programs for toddlers, older children, teenagers, mothers, and families. Their comments all supported statements made in A Tenant Looks at Public Housing. The booklet closes with the following statement about recreational facilities:

Three kinds of recreational facilities are essential in public housing projects intended to accommodate families: a) enclosed play spaces close to home where tots can play with their own toys, under their mothers' supervision: b) a liberal scattering of properly equipped play areas throughout the project for children old enough to require--and be trusted with--a certain amount of freedom: and c) a meeting-and-recreation room equipped with a stove, a sink and a small washroom for the use of various tenants' clubs and associations.³⁴

The booklet also contains a statement by the Vancouver Housing Inter-Project Council with regard to activity rooms. Part of that statement says:

In any multiple housing settlement [public or private] it is essential to have rooms for meetings and communal activities. This space, if used on a group basis, is much less expensive than the rumpus rooms which now are a requirement in private homes. Where there is a high density of children and teenagers it is especially important to have a constructive outlet for energies and facilities suitable for different age groups. Families on low incomes living in public housing live under considerable stress, often do not have cars and cannot afford cost of baby sitters, and fees, etc. of many community programs. Experience has shown that public housing communities tend to become "sick communities" with a high percentage of social problems, disturbing behavior and personality conflict. There is a contagious factor that is very detrimental to family life and growing children. Adequate activity rooms, along with

suitable leadership, provided the opportunity for tenants to build more positive relationships within their tenant community and develop many kinds of self-help programs. This in turn can help ease many of the problems which otherwise are constantly demanding the attentions of local managers, often with no available solution except perhaps eviction

As tenants gain confidence in their own environment, they will become more ready and able to take part in the larger community. Our Vancouver experience has shown that local facilities and tenant activities can be developed so that they encourage integration of tenants in the larger community.³⁵

The need for recreational space and facilities has also been enunciated by the Canadian Conference on Housing, the Ontario Welfare Council, the workshop on integration of physical and social planning, the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, and other organizations.³⁶ Fortunately, this need has also now been realized by the federal government. In a statement to the House of Commons on April 21, 1970, Robert Andras announced that:

Social and recreation facilities, in both new and existing public housing projects, will be eligible for federal assistance. The precise nature of these facilities will be negotiated with the agencies concerned.³⁷

The policy of the Ontario Housing Corporation now is:

. . . to provide social and recreational facilities in all new public housing projects when they are of sufficient size to warrant them. We are currently undergoing a major upgrading of existing public housing projects. . .³⁸

Need for Social Services

The need not only for recreation facilities, but also for day care facilities and for offices for social service workers, has also been expressed by tenants and in various studies. In A Tenant Looks at Public Housing, it was noted that:

Activity rooms alone are not the answer to problems of public housing communities. Provision must also be made for professional help, such as been demonstrated . . . through community workers. These services should be available to the larger community as well as to tenants.³⁹

the reason why these services are required is that there are a number of families living in projects who require assistance of one kind or another.

Problem Families

A common concern of tenants and housing authority staff is problem families. The tenants themselves are quick to admit that there are families living among them who cause difficulties. It is very difficult to explain to your six year old daughter why Mrs. X has male "cousins" visiting her all through the night, why Mrs. Y always has cuts and bruises on her face the morning after screams are heard from the Y home, or why Mrs. Z is not really smarter than you because she doesn't pay for the things she brings home from the store. Sylvia Goldblatt suggests that:

No one would expect a healthy family to cope with another physically ill family; perhaps it is unreasonable to ask the healthy family to cope with the socially ill family. The potential for integrating public housing families with the neighborhood outside the development is closely related to the variety of poverty from which the families suffer.⁴⁰

The Vancouver Housing Inter-Project Council state that:

Within housing projects there are many families with low education levels, and most families have social problems of varying degree. Because of this, office space for social agencies who might wish to help families should be provided. Various levels of government should pay a community development worker to stimulate a feeling of pride and responsibility among the tenants.⁴¹

Welfare Families

There are a number of families in the public housing projects who are on welfare. The Ontario Housing Corporation stated the following:

As a general rule of thumb, it has been our experience in Canada and other countries that it is best to mix the occupants of a public housing project so that there are not too great a concentration of persons receiving welfare and family allowances. While this is the aim, it is not easily achieved as families are placed on the basis of need and single-parent families and those in receipt of welfare, often represent the neediest cases. As a result it has not always been possible to achieve this rule of thumb, and in point of fact, in Metropolitan Toronto, for example, approximately one-fourth of our tenants receive welfare assistance of family benefits; 22.4 percent derive income from pensions and unemployment benefits; while just over half--52 percent--are employed.⁴²

Ottawa has allowed an average of 32.7 percent welfare families into public housing projects there.⁴³ Restricting the number of welfare families in public housing is a controversial question. The former Mayor of Ottawa, Don B. Reid, suggested that this is rank discrimination.⁴⁴ It is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss the wisdom of this regulation. The issue is mentioned merely to point out that there is really a smaller percentage of welfare families living in public housing than is usually estimated by members of the surrounding neighborhood.

Single-parent Families

There are a large number of single-parent families living in public housing. Unfortunately, it is not possible to obtain an exact count.⁴⁵ However, on the authority of public health and other social service workers, it can be stated that a considerable percentage of families have no father because of desertion,

divorce, separation, illegitimacy, or death. In Metropolitan Toronto, over 35 percent of the families in public housing projects are headed by single-parents.⁴⁶ This leads to a great discipline problem, particularly with male children and with teenagers. The problem of discipline is aggravated by the lack of privacy. Also, it is not very easy for the parent in a single-parent family to contribute time to community activities such as organizing sports for the children.

A very serious problem related to single mothers was mentioned to the author by tenants in most of the projects. The problem is suicide attempts. The author will not attempt to analyze the reasons for the number of suicide attempts in the project. Perhaps a mother's economic difficulties, combined with the feeling of being trapped by her children, lead to this situation. The author was told that in Toronto, the hospital nearest the Warden Woods project began calling all suicide attempt cases the X Street Syndrome because of the frequency of suicide attempts on that street. X Street is a street within the project.

The book Community Health Nursing Practice points out that when:

. . . the one-parent family [headed by a woman] is the outcome of divorce, emotional deprivations of the spouse may cause severe physical or emotional symptoms--insomnia, depression, cynicism, and hostility--that spill over to the children. . . .⁴⁷

The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada points out that more than one-third of all women who are heads of families are poor.⁴⁸ Data from 1967 indicated that the average income for all female heads

of families was \$2,536, compared with an average income of male heads of families of \$5,821.⁴⁹ The Report says that "the welfare assistance payments now received are often tragically inadequate."⁵⁰ The Report pointed out that, in addition to the economic factors:

It is almost impossible for one adult [woman] to assume what is normally the responsibility of two, and the physical and mental strain involved has harsh consequences for those mothers, and results in a great deal of insecurity for their children.⁵¹

Delinquency, Theft and Vandalism

Primarily because of problem families and discipline problems related to single-parent families, there is a great fear among some residents about delinquency, theft, and vandalism which takes place in the projects. Women are sometimes afraid to walk alone through the project at night.

Fear of Neighbors

Within some public housing projects, there appears to be a great fear of getting involved with one's neighbors. Sometimes this fear relates to the fear of delinquency, theft, and vandalism. More often, the fear relates to not wanting to get involved with a neighbor's problems. Or it may be that the family does not want neighbors involved in their problems. A family may be aloof because they do not want their neighbors to find out that their children have a pet. (Pets are illegal in the projects.) A family may not want to become involved in community activities for fear that if a man could not attend a meeting neighbors might find out that he was working overtime and report this to the housing authority. If it were reported, the overtime money would be added to his income

and his rent would go up for that month. Fortunately, this regulation whereby the rent went up immediately after any increase in income is no longer in effect. For the rent plan which is now in effect, see Appendix 2.

Gossip seems to be the greatest fear, particularly among the women in the project. One lady told the author about the following experience. She was attending meetings of the Single Parents' Association. While preparing to go to a meeting one evening, she decided to pack some baby clothes which she had and give them to a woman in the club. The only thing she had to carry them in was a suitcase. She arranged for a baby sitter and took a bus to the meeting. When she arrived home, she discovered the welfare officials waiting for her because shortly after she had left for the meeting, one of her neighbors reported that she had deserted her family.

Very often difficulties between adults are caused by difficulties between their respective children. On one project, the mothers suggested that children in the project got along although the normal conflicts occurred. However, on another project it was suggested that fights between children were causing feuds between mothers. And on another project one mother said, "If you spend your time here all day, you sometimes don't want to send your kids out to play with some of the children you see."⁵²

Lack of Privacy

The problem of lack of privacy has been mentioned earlier with regard to design of public housing projects. It must be mentioned again with regard to

visits of social service workers and social scientists. Some residents expressed resentment that social service workers, particularly public health nurses, felt they had a right to visit residents anytime, just because they lived in public housing. They felt that nurses were singling them out because of where they lived and might not have visited if the families had been living in private housing. Other residents said that they were initially disturbed or frightened by visits from the public health nurse, but now felt that it was just like a friend dropping in for coffee. One mother said that her children were embarrassed by visits from the public health nurse because they had to be checked for tuberculosis. The children are embarrassed by this because they worry that people think it is a dirty disease.

Besides social service workers, tenants often find students or other social scientists visiting them to get information. The residents feel that their physical segregation from the rest of the community sets them up to be used as guinea pigs by people wanting to do research. One woman told the author that she was very frustrated by people coming around asking for information to do a study, getting the residents concerned about some issue or issues, and then disappearing. No information is fed back to the residents.

How Tenants Feel about Being in Restricted Programs

There are conflicting views among tenants with regard to being serviced by restricted programs. Some tenants feel that if programs were restricted to them, they would feel segregated from the general community, thus attaching a stigma

to the area. Other tenants, however, feel that particularly with regard to programs for children, there is a need for restricted programs. They feel that because there are so many children in the projects, any program would get filled up quickly. This will be discussed further in Chapter V.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, Report (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 54.

² Ibid., pp. 52-57.

³ Ibid., p. 55.

⁴ Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Annual Report, 1969 (Ottawa: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1970), p. 12.

⁵ Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Canadian Housing Statistics, 1969 (Ottawa: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1970), p. 35. These figures are up to and including 1969.

⁶ June Craig, Community Relations Supervisor, Ottawa Housing Authority, Interview, Ottawa, June 25, 1970.

⁷ It seems ludicrous that the governments in Canada are spending millions of dollars for a program which they do not know has any positive benefits and which may be directly contributing to further social problems.

⁸ Task Force, op. cit., p. 55.

⁹ Joan Adams, A Tenant Looks at Public Housing Projects (Vancouver: United Community Services of the Greater Vancouver Areas, 1968), p. Forward.

¹⁰ Michael Wheeler, ed., The Right to Housing (Montreal: Harvest House Limited, 1969), p. 185.

¹¹ The Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority, The Social Implications of Public Housing in Metropolitan Toronto (Toronto: The Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority, 1963), p. 89.

¹² Adams, op. cit., p. 27.

¹³ Peter Lawrence, Interim Chairman, Ottawa Tenants Council of Public Housing in Canadian Welfare Council, "Who Should Manage Public Housing? Report of a Workshop held at Pointe-claire, Quebec, June 19-21, 1970," (Ottawa, Canadian Welfare Council, 1970), p. 28.

¹⁴ June Craig, Interview, Ottawa, June 1, 1970.

¹⁵ Anna Bowman, Unit Supervisor, Warden Woods Community Services, Interview, Toronto, June 29, 1970.

¹⁶Task Force, op. cit., p. 55.

¹⁷Wheeler, op. cit., pp. 185-186.

¹⁸City of Edmonton, Planning Department, Interview, March 5, 1971.

¹⁹CWC, op. cit., p. 16.

²⁰Adams, op. cit., pp. 22-25.

²¹"Now. . . Just Listen," Radio program, CBOT, Ottawa, June 18, 1970.

²²For example: The Death and Life of Great American Cities, Jane Jacobs. Urban Renewal: Planning, Politics and People, Bellush and Hausknecht, The Slums, Leinwand.

²³Danish Town Planning and Danish Housing, Report prepared for the 5th Congress of the International Union of Architects, 1957.

²⁴Robert Andras, "Statement on Public Housing Program," Ottawa, House of Commons, April 21, 1970, p. 8. (Mimeographed.)

²⁵Canadian Welfare Council, "Integration of Physical and Social Planning with special reference to public housing and urban renewal report number one," (Ottawa: Canadian Welfare Council, 1967), p. 73.

²⁶A. T. Hastey, City Clerk. Corporation of the City of Ottawa, Personal Letter, Ottawa, March 5, 1971.

²⁷Ontario Municipal Board, "Decision of the Board in the matter of Section 30 of The Planning Act (R.S.O. 1960, c. 296) and in the matter of an application by the Corporation of the City of Ottawa for approval of its Restricted Area By-law 357-70 passed on the 19th day of October, 1970," Toronto, February 22, 1971.

²⁸Ibid., p. 5.

²⁹While the author is disturbed by the feelings expressed by the objectors to public housing, she is also disturbed by the reasoning behind the Ontario Municipal Board Decision. The application for rezoning was approved. It was stated in the decision that:

. . . no planning evidence was adduced by those in opposition to support their position. While great stress is laid upon the sociological evidence. . . this, in itself, is not sufficient to cause this Board to refuse the application. As a matter of fact, the planning witness for the

municipality stated that in the planning process, the staff does indeed consider this aspect, although she was quick to point out that studies in depth of course are not made, chiefly because this is a rather new field in the planning concept and at the present time the municipality does not possess upon its staff a planner with special training required in this very important field. (p. 8)

It concerns the author that greater consideration is not given to the social aspects of housing by the Ontario Municipal Board and by the planners for the City of Ottawa.

³⁰"Now. . . Just Listen" op. cit.

³¹Adams, op. cit., p. 20.

"Suggestion: High-chain-link fencing around all public housing projects located in the midst of industrial areas. . . "

³²Sylvia Goldblatt, "Social Integration or Isolation Among Residents of Public Housing Projects," (unpublished M.S.W. thesis, University of Toronto, School of Social Work, 1967), p. 68.

³³CWC, "Who Should Manage Public Housing?" p. 28.

³⁴Adams, op. cit., p. 25.

³⁵Adams, op. cit., p. 28.

³⁶Michael Wheeler, ed., The Right to Housing. CWC, "Integration of Physical and Social Planning."

Trevor Pierce, Memorandum to 1969 Conference Delegates, Ontario Welfare Council Conference, Toronto, July 18, 1969.

³⁷Andras, op. cit., p. 7.

³⁸R.R. Snell, Director, Information Services, Ontario Housing Corporation, Personal Letter, Toronto, March 2, 1971.

³⁹Adams, op. cit., p. 29.

⁴⁰Goldblatt, op. cit., p. 4.

⁴¹Adams, op. cit., p. 26.

⁴²Snell, op. cit.

⁴³June Craig, op. cit., Interview, Ottawa, June 25, 1970.

⁴⁴Snell, op. cit.

⁴⁵Ruth B. Freeman, Community Health Nursing Practice (Toronto: W. B. Saunders Co., 1970), p. 162.

⁴⁶Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, Report (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 319.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 320.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 322.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 323.

CHAPTER IV

DELIVERY OF SOCIAL SERVICES

We become so concerned with the number of homes we built that we neglected the people who had to live in them.¹

This statement by Robert Andras, federal cabinet minister responsible for housing, perhaps best sums up the Canadian philosophy towards public housing. We have been so busy (in some provinces) building units that we have not taken time to assess the reasons why we are building public housing. Is it just to put roofs over people's heads? Is it social action? Is it to help eradicate poverty? Alvin Schoor suggests that public housing

is pressed, if it is going to serve families with any precision, to define its objectives and to alter policies to further these objectives. At least three choices are open: (1) A real estate operation for the respectable poor--the purely poor. (2) A rehabilitative program for the seriously dependent and troubled poor. (3) A greatly enlarged and altered program, at least in part de-institutionalized, with a variety of kinds of housing opportunities.²

The need for research and the establishment of goals with regard to Canadian housing policy, in both the public and private fields, was discussed in Chapter 1. For the purpose of this chapter, let it suffice to say that with or without any stated objectives, the primary objective, particularly of the Province of Ontario, appears to have been the putting of roofs over peoples' heads. The Report of the Canadian Committee of the International Council on Social Welfare dated February, 1970, says:

The Ontario Housing Corporation's single-minded efforts in housing production and management have removed it from extensive involvement in the human problems of tenants, surprising as this may seem with between 20 and 30 percent of its tenants benefiting under various governmental programs of income maintenance. Although officially silent on the question of encouraging tenant participation with the management on matters of mutual interest, the Corporation has been responsive to outside initiative (both tenant groups and community services) concerned with social programs in its housing projects. The act of bringing into relatively high density living conditions under a large public landlord numerous families with common concerns, shared status and a variety of social problems undoubtedly has stimulated dynamic forms of citizen initiative in social problems. Despite accumulated evidence that the provision of decent low cost housing is not a cure-all for human problems, the Corporation seems to hold an ambivalent attitude with regard to social work and its potential role in public housing and community development work among the re-housed.³

Concern is being expressed that it is not possible just to build housing units as economically as possible, but that the social aspects of housing must be examined and planned. Michael Wheeler suggests that:

. . . adequate housing involves much more than the individual dwelling--it includes consideration of open space, recreation facilities, community services, educational facilities, and so on.⁴

The purpose of this chapter will be to examine why social services are a necessary component of public housing, to look at the arguments for and against the provision of social services to public housing residents as a segregated group, to look at the difficulties faced by municipalities required to provide services, and to examine the need for social animation among public housing residents. Information for this chapter was obtained through interviews

with social service workers and administrators and through an examination of relevant literature.

Why Social Services Must be Provided

The literature and the practical experiences of various social service workers suggest that there are a number of reasons why social services are required by public housing residents. Public housing projects bring together and concentrate in high density areas people from the same socio-economic circumstances. This means that in terms of the skills of people, resources are more limited than would be the case in a more mixed neighborhood. It also means that in terms of money which the community can contribute towards such things as sports equipment for recreation, resources are also more limited.

The high concentration of families means that there are inevitably problem families who cannot simply be abandoned to their difficulties. Nor can we expect socially healthy families in the community to cope with the problem families, unsupported by professional assistance.

A certain percentage of the families in public housing are assisted by income maintenance in one form or another. As noted earlier, this percentage in Ottawa is 32.7. People within this group require services in addition to money to help them deal with their economic problems.

Some housing management people suggest that one of the reasons for supporting social service needs among their tenants is purely economic. One suggested that "good maintenance cannot be achieved in the face of an alienated

tenantry."⁵ Such services as Homemakers provide the few tenants who need it with instruction and understanding in how to use and maintain their home environment effectively.

Some social service workers suggest that the actual fact of rehousing, particularly if it is from an urban renewal area, often uncovers problems which require treatment. These problems may have existed before, but they were not as apparent. Sometimes the actual fact of moving into public housing will create problems that did not previously exist. Tenants who have been accustomed to living downtown find transportation to services from the suburbs difficult and expensive. Former neighborhood ties and support are no longer available.

It has also been suggested that the actual fact of moving may "increase citizens' awareness of deficiencies in their physical and social environment,"⁶ and this may bring about a rising standard of expectation.

Arguments for Providing Social Services Specifically for Public Housing Residents

Few Services--There are a number of reasons why tenants in public housing projects find it difficult to integrate into the social services that are supplied for the general community. For one thing, services are often in short supply, particularly in suburban areas. Unfortunately, most of our municipalities, because of problems of finance which will be discussed below, are not able to provide the level of services required in certain areas of their community.

Unequal opportunities--Also, families of lower socio-economic status do not have equal opportunities with middle income groups to use services. Utilization of services often costs money. This is particularly true in the case of recreation, where (as was mentioned in Chapter II) a pay-as-you-go philosophy often exists. However, it applies to all services because transportation costs are usually involved; baby-sitting costs may be involved if it is a service for mothers; and there is also the matter of clothing. A social service worker suggested that some mothers are not able to attend meetings of the organization called Parents without Partners, not because they don't want to go, but because they can't afford a baby-sitter for the times of the meetings, and they can't afford to buy clothes that they feel would be presentable to wear.

Fear of outside neighbors--Tenants of public housing projects also have a fear of using services provided to the general community because they are afraid to mix with neighbors from outside the projects. Hostility that was present when the projects were built is difficult to overcome. Some workers suggest that social service programs must initially be provided to public housing residents alone, until they gain enough confidence to integrate with the surrounding neighborhood. One worker said that most of the families in the project where he works are afraid to go to the large general community centre or to the big churches in the area.⁸ Of the 54 families he works closely with, eight or ten now want to mix with the outside neighborhood. He drew a parallel with the French community and suggested that they first had to get together and build their self-confidence before participating in general community activities.

Economic problems--Another worker suggested that it is not just a fear of hostility that prevents residents from mixing with families outside the project.⁹ There is a fear that children who mix socially with children from a middle-class area will be distressed by the difference in the amount of money they have to spend. The project children will want more, and their parents will not be able to provide it.

Difference in children--Social service workers and the literature also suggest that there is a difference between lower-class and middle-class children. Workers suggest that parents living in the projects do not believe that their children are any different from other children in the community, but they do not realize that their children have not had the advantages that other children have had in terms of education, experience, and motivation. A number of different workers expressed the view that programs provided for both lower-class and middle-class children do not work. Initially, if the program is on a first-come, first-served basis, the lower-class child often loses out because the middle-class mother will make sure that her child gets to the registration, while the lower-class mother may not be so motivated. She may not recognize the advantages of the opportunity. Middle-class children generally experience a more organized home life. They are usually more disciplined, more directed, and better able to apply themselves to a specific task. Consequently, if there is a mixture of classes of children, it is the middle-class children who will be picked to hand out papers and given other leadership roles by the middle-class staff. Experiences of two separate day camps

in Ottawa suggest that when there is a mixture of lower-class and middle-class children, the middle-class children dominate.

Easy access--Another argument for providing social services specifically for public housing tenants is that easy access to services is essential. Preferably services can be offered right on the grounds of the project. Michael Audain points out:

. . . if there's one thing we have found out in the last ten years, it is that unless social services, recreation, counselling, day care, and similar services are made available at the point of need, then there is little likelihood that they will be extensively used.¹⁰

One Experience

The experience of one social service worker supports the need for providing social services right on the grounds of public housing projects.¹¹

In September of 1968, a public health nurse whose area takes in one of the public housing projects, went from door to door in the project giving a personal invitation to mothers to attend an immunization clinic at a church located one-half mile from the project. Volunteer drivers were available at the steps of the project. The tenants' association had published notices in their newsletter, and pamphlets on the value of immunization had been distributed. However, the response was poor; only five families attended.

In May of 1969, another immunization clinic was attempted. This time, however, a unit in the project, which fortunately was empty at the time, was used. When the clinic was held, 74 injections and 55 boosters were administered.

In September of 1969, when the clinic was again held at the church, a considerable number of shots were given, but not all families returned.

The nurse suggested a number of reasons why more families had attended the clinic in the project. (1) It was physically easier for the mothers to attend, particularly if they had a number of small children. (2) The mothers could attend the clinic in the project without having to deal with their fear of hostility from their neighbors. (3) Attending the clinic in the project provided them with a social time. This was the first time that many mothers from the project had congregated in one place.

Arguments Against Providing Social Services Specifically for Public Housing Residents

The arguments against providing social services specifically for public housing residents fall into two categories. One is a concern that providing services on a segregated basis will further discriminate against public housing tenants and will cause the projects to become ghettos. The second category includes arguments that public housing residents should not be privileged to receive services that other members of the community, particularly other low-income families, do not receive.

Segregation--Some residents, as well as some social service workers, were very concerned that provision of segregated social services would further segregate the projects from the rest of the community. However, other social service workers argue that if we are going to assemble and segregate people

physically on the basis of income, then we have a special responsibility to them.

Alvin Schoor suggests that:

If public housing is to deal with the troubled families whom it assembles, it may have to provide its own direct services to supplement and bring more effectively to bear those that must come from the community at large.¹²

It is also argued that public housing projects are really separate neighborhoods and as such require their own services:

Something else we might recognize is that some of our existing housing projects are so large that they are really neighborhoods in themselves. It could therefore be academic to argue about integration.¹³

Equal provision--Most social service workers will agree (with certain reservations) that the concern about providing services which other groups do not have to one group in the community is valid. But they express their concern in positive terms. They feel that we should positively discriminate in favor of low-income areas in our cities. They realize that there are over 1,500 families on the waiting list for public housing who probably also require services. By providing a certain group of people with public housing, we have already provided them with a service which has not been provided to other people. Some might argue that they have something already, so let's not give them any more. However, if we have provided them with a service (which, as was pointed out earlier in this thesis sometimes causes them problems they did not have before), then would it not seem reasonable to provide them with a further service which may allow them to become more economically self-sufficient and to deal effectively

with their social problems so that they will not continue to need social services.

A Report on Health, Welfare and Recreation Needs and Services Provided to

Tenants of Two Public Housing Projects in Metropolitan Toronto done in 1961

suggested that:

. . . the need for community services in public housing cannot be considered apart from the needs of the total geographic area in which the project is situated.¹⁴

However, they also suggest that:

The Committee also believes that it is quite possible that those tenants of public housing projects who need such services may be reaching the agencies at an earlier stage of development in their problems and may be receiving help at a point where it is possible to prevent serious deterioration of the family and the development of more complicated situations. It is therefore possible, . . . that in the long term the tenants of public housing may actually cost the community services less than other low-income families living in other areas.¹⁵

From a purely economic point of view, ignoring the factors of social decency, one might question whether there is any point in concentrating a large group of people, some of whom have severe social, psychological and economic problems, and then abandoning them to their problem.

Open Services--But in the Project

A number of tenants and social service workers have suggested that services open to the community at large be provided on the grounds of the project. There is a question of whether or not members of the outside community would attend any programs or services within the project. The suggestion seems to be

that they would not, because they distrust the neighborhood and because the large numbers of people in the project would probably fill any program or service provided.

Two units in the Confederation Court project have been converted for social and recreational use. Activities and services are open to members of the community surrounding the project. However, "the only people from outside the community who use the Units are the friends of the teens."¹⁶

Difficulties of Municipalities Having to Provide Services

It had previously been the policy of the Ontario Housing Corporation to provide only physical dwelling units in public housing projects. Any facilities or programs of a social service nature were expected to be provided by the municipalities. This policy has recently changed. The Ontario Housing Corporation informed the author that:

Until the recent announcement by the Federal Government that they would join with the province in providing funds for such purpose, we were severely limited in installing these social and recreational facilities that were "appropriate to the project" . . . we were limited in most projects and were only able to supply small community rooms.¹⁷

Usually social services and programs were either not provided or provided on a limited basis. This was not necessarily because the municipality did not want to provide services, but because it was financially unable to do so. In most cases, municipalities obtain money to provide services to their citizens through property taxes and grants under cost sharing agreements with the province and through these, the federal government. The problem of supporting services from a property

tax base has been discussed in the Report of the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development.¹⁸ For the purpose of this thesis, the author would like to note that municipalities are finding it more and more difficult to provide even the basic essential services required by all of their citizens. Under the present circumstances, it is not surprising that they are very reluctant to provide special services to a select group of people, even if in the long run this would decrease the costs to the municipality and would provide a better life for some of its citizens.

The administrators of municipal monies are also concerned about spending general tax revenues for services or programs for a select group of people. It can be argued that our society is based on an unequal distribution of services provided from general tax revenues. Transfer payments are made to poorer provinces from taxes taken from richer provinces. Tax monies taken from citizens throughout the province is used to provide highways for certain areas and not for others. Welfare assistance is provided to some members of the population from general tax revenues. In most cases we do allocate our resources in terms of need.

Unequal distribution of services such as recreation facilities and programs, however, is a very controversial issue. The middle-income neighborhoods are just as concerned as lower-income neighborhoods about having community centres, wading pools, sports fields, etc. This concern is justified; but possibly this is one social service area where equal distribution among all neighborhoods is no longer justified, given the limited amount of money available for recreation facilities and programs. Perhaps municipalities must concentrate programming

where the needs are greatest. During the Fourth National Forum sponsored by the National Recreation and Parks Association of the United States, the Task force on Comprehensive Community Service--The Role of Parks and Recreation made the following recommendation:

The modification of the programming philosophy so that programming for special group receives the same support as that given to programming for the masses--the professional must develop patience and an appreciation for the time-consuming activity of citizen involvement. Improved community support and the assurance of maximum participation and benefit of recreation experiences are most frequently achieved when the community is involved in the planning of its activities.¹⁹

Need for a Community Building

The need for a community building on the grounds of public housing projects has already been discussed. It is worthwhile noting that many social service workers support this concept and feel that it is important for the development of the community.

Need for Community Development

Some of these workers feel, however, that social facilities alone will not enable the project community to develop. They feel that there is need for a social animator or community developer to work with residents of public housing projects. Community development is based on the premise that citizen participation and self-help can alleviate pervasive social problems in communities. It has been defined as:

. . . an educational-motivational process designed to create conditions favourable to economic and social change, if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously then techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure the fullest participation of the community must be utilized.²⁰

It has also been described as:

. . . organized efforts to improve the conditions of community life, and the capacity for community integration and self direction. Community development seeks to work primarily through the enlistment and organization of self-help and co-operative effort on the part of the residents of the community, but usually with technical assistance from governmental or voluntary organizations.²¹

Maurice Clinard, in discussing approaches to the slum problem, suggests that tactics such as slum clearance, charity, and public and private services have been tried but that slums seem impervious to change. He goes on to say:

Another approach is to place emphasis on enlisting the slum dwellers themselves in an effort to bring about more rapid and at the same time more permanent changes. Recognizing the essential nature of most slum problems, this approach involves developing greater community consciousness, participation in a wider community, and self-help on the part of the slum dweller. This approach, relying upon indigenous leadership to bring about change and supplemented by some financial and technical assistance from outside, has been termed "urban community development."²²

Conclusions about the community development process which took place during the "Red Door" demonstration project in Vancouver point out that the process has the following objectives in a low-income neighborhood with disadvantaged groups:

1. Participation in community life.
2. Opportunities to realize social and economic potentials.

3. An environment that enhances the development of children.
4. Increased participation and power to influence decisions that affect people's lives.²³

The reasoning behind the community development process is that the participation of citizens in their community and in decision making about factors which affect their lives will bring about a community (social) environment which is healthy for raising children and which allows adults to gain in dignity and emotional satisfaction.

The "Red Door" experiment took place in a low-income community in Vancouver which includes a 224-unit public housing project. Results of the experiment include the following:

. . . substantiates that it is possible to involve disadvantaged citizens, that these people have the capacity and motivation to contribute to the life of their neighborhood. If they are encouraged and assisted by a community development worker.²⁴

To involve disadvantaged citizens, it was necessary to seek them out aggressively and to help them, through group efforts, to develop confidence and a sense of self-worth and to overcome fear of authority.²⁵

Contributing positively to community projects was a most effective way for disadvantaged citizens, who were accustomed only to the stigma of being welfare recipients, to get a new feeling of self-worth and gradually to realize greater capacities.²⁶

Considerable progress was evident in many mothers who had been active in neighborhood developments and who not only were functioning more adequately as parents and citizens, but were motivated to train for or to work.²⁷

Perhaps the most significant statement in The Red Door report for our purpose is this:

The public housing community no longer stood out as an isolated ghetto, but was a vital and acceptable component which provided leadership as well as needs that were recognized in a positive way.²⁸

Withdrawal of the community development worker took place during the time she felt that the "citizens and resources had achieved a sufficient stage of development to continue independent of [the experimental project]".²⁹

However, it is noted in the report that:

Certain neighborhoods need intensive help . . . Continuing community development services to assist citizens in program developments and primary citizen action groups is needed in public housing.³⁰

At present in Ottawa, there are a number of priests, social workers, students, and other people doing community development work among tenants in public housing projects. The work they are doing is valuable, but there are not enough workers, particularly workers who can devote themselves full-time to community development. The need for community development workers was stressed by a few of the social service workers who were interviewed. They see community development among tenants in public housing projects as a necessary first step before integration with the rest of the community can take place. They feel that until the tenants in the projects gain in self-confidence, they cannot overcome the fear of hostility from the outside community. They also feel that until the tenants gain the skills and know-how of working together, they cannot work with their outside neighbors.

A component of community development is participation in decision

making. Tenant management of public housing projects is now being suggested.³¹

Michael Audain says that:

Once tenants can gain a real feeling of security, in not being entirely at the whim of managers over whose conduct they have no control, it is suggested they will start to take an increased interest in community improvement.³²

Participation in the planning of projects, facilities, and programs is also being suggested. The policy workshop on Organization of Housing Programs at the Canadian Conference on Housing stated:

Active participation by the consumers of housing must be developed, particularly at the planning stage. Some provincial legislation now requires public participation but is not sufficiently explicit about allocation of specific responsibilities. There should be public financial and technical support to assist in the development of participation through community development, area council and social animation techniques. Housing developments without community activity and responsibility are no longer acceptable.³³

In order to participate in planning and operation, tenants must first learn to work together, and they must gain in self-confidence and in the abilities of organization and communication. As a community they must be able to discover and express their needs and find alternative solutions to deal effectively with these needs. Community development is a process through which they can gain the skills and confidence to do so.

How to Finance Community Development

If community development is to take place on any basis other than the present ad hoc one, money to pay community development workers must be made

available. It appears that there are two likely sources of funds. One is through the Canada Assistance Plan administered by the federal Department of Health and Welfare, and the other is the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Under the Canada Assistance Plan "welfare services" are interpreted to mean:

. . . services having as their object the lessening, removal or prevention of the causes and effects of poverty, child neglect or dependence on public assistance, and, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, includes i) rehabilitation services, ii) casework, counselling, assessment and referral services, iii) adoption services, iv) homemaker, day-care and similar services, v) community development services, vi) consulting, research and evaluation services with respect to welfare programs and vii) administrative, secretarial and clerical services, including staff training, relating to the provision of any of the foregoing service or to the provision of assistance³⁴

Under the regulations of the Canada Assistance Plan, "community development" is interpreted to mean:

. . . services designed to encourage and assist residents of a community to participate or to continue to participate in improving the social and economic conditions of the community for the purpose of preventing, lessening or removing the causes and effects of poverty, child neglect or dependence on public assistance in the community.³⁵

Because community development is considered a welfare service under the Canada Assistance Plan, the federal government will pay 50 percent of the staff costs, research, and travel of a community development project. This looks like an excellent source to obtain money for community development. Unfortunately, however, in order for funds to be obtained under this Act, the province must

agree to pay 50 percent of the costs. The province then works out a cost sharing agreement with the municipality. At the 1969 Ontario Welfare Conference in Toronto, the following recommendation related to housing was approved:

The Ontario Welfare Council should urge the Provincial Government to make use of the community development funds in the Canada Assistance Plan and propose means of implementing these programs.³⁶

Another possible source of funds is the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, which might be able to supply funds through grants. This, however, was not thought to be particularly feasible by the Assistant Director of Public Housing and Urban Renewal for CMHC. He said that the tenants might feel that CMHC was trying to guide them. Also, there was no organization across the country that CMHC could pay to do development.³⁷

If there were to be community development available as a resource to public housing tenants throughout the country, the question of what agency would be responsible for the process creates a problem. It has been suggested by staff of the Ottawa Housing Authority that it is not possible for Authority staff to do community development because the people do not trust them. They are representatives of the landlord.³⁸

One suggestion is that Social Planning Councils might take the responsibility. At the workshop on integration of physical and social planning with special reference to public housing and urban renewal, Michael Wheeler suggested:

Essentially [citizen participation, or social animation] are efforts aimed at increasing the opportunities for people to participate in the planning process at the earliest possible stage and at developing their capacities for making rational choices. Some have suggested that the non-governmental social planning agencies could make their most useful contribution in this area rather than entertaining ambitious notions of acting as the co-ordinator of multiple planning systems.³⁹

It appears that it could be possible to finance community development work to be done with tenants of public housing projects if service agencies, housing authorities, and most importantly tenants can be convinced of the value of the community development process.

FOOTNOTES

¹Robert Andras, "The Seventies: The Decade of the Urban Challenge," Address at the Annual Convention of the National House Builders Association, Niagara Falls, Ontario, February 4, 1970, p. 3. (Mimeographed).

²Alvin L. Schorr, Slums and Social Insecurity (London: Thomas Nelson Ltd., 1964), pp. 89-90.

³Canadian Welfare Council, "Social Development Canada," (Ottawa: Canadian Welfare Council, 1970), p. 87.

⁴Michael Wheeler, "The Housing Crisis and Public Policy," Address given at the Annual Conference of Mayors and Municipalities, Montreal, July 24, 1967, p. 11. (Mimeographed).

⁵Canadian Welfare Council, "Integration of Physical and Social Planning with special reference to public housing and urban renewal Report No. 1," (Ottawa: Canadian Welfare Council, 1967), p. 7.

⁶Ibid., p. 8.

⁷Anna Bowman, Unit Supervisor, Warden Woods Community Services, Interview, Toronto, June 29, 1970.

⁸Father Morin, Priest doing community development in Ottawa, Interview, Ottawa, June 12, 1970.

⁹Ian Taylor, Area Supervisor, Department of Recreation and Parks, Corporation of the City of Ottawa, Interview, Ottawa, June 23, 1970.

¹⁰Canadian Welfare Council, "Who Should Manage Public Housing? Report of a Workshop held at Pointe-Claire, Quebec, June 19-21, 1970," (Ottawa: Canadian Welfare Council, 1970), p. 29.

¹¹Marian Ramsden, Public Health Nurse, Ottawa-Carleton Regional Area Health Unit, Interview, Ottawa, June 11, 1970.

¹²Schorr, op. cit., p. 91.

¹³CWC, "Who Should Manage Public Housing?," p. 29.

¹⁴Toronto Social Planning Council, Report on Health, Welfare and Recreation Needs and Services Provided to Tenants of Two Public Housing Projects in Metropolitan Toronto (Toronto: Toronto Social Planning Council, 1961), p. 6.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁶June Craig, Community Relations Supervisor, Ottawa Housing Authority, Letter, Ottawa, March 10, 1970.

¹⁷R.R. Snell, Director, Information Services, Ontario Housing Corporation, Personal Letter, Toronto, Ontario, March 2, 1971.

¹⁸Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, Report. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), pp. 45-46.

¹⁹"Fourth National Forum," Parks and Recreation June, 1969, p. 43.

²⁰Community Development in Alberta (Ottawa: Special Planning Secretariat, Privy Council Office, 1965), p. 2.

²¹A. Dunham, "The Outlook for Community Development," in the Proceedings of the U.S.A. National Conference on Social Welfare, 1958.

²²Maurice Clinard, Slums and Community Development (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1966), p. 23.

²³Area Development Project, The Red Door (Vancouver: United Community Services of the Greater Vancouver Area, 1968), p. 112.

²⁴Ibid., p. 109.

²⁵Ibid., p. 109.

²⁶Ibid., p. 105.

²⁷Ibid., p. 107.

²⁸Ibid., p. 89.

²⁹Ibid., p. 106.

³⁰Ibid., p. 103.

³¹Michael Audain, "Tenant Management", May-June 1970, pp. 3-7. See also CWC, "Who Should Manage Public Housing?".

³²Audain, "Tenant Management", p. 4.

³³Michael Wheeler, The Right to Housing (Montreal: Harvest House Ltd., 1969), p. 315.

³⁴Government of Canada, House of Commons, Canada Assistance Plan.

³⁵Government of Canada, House of Commons, Canada Assistance Plan Regulations.

³⁶Trevor Pierce, Memorandum to 1969 Conference Delegates, Ontario Welfare Council Conference, Toronto, July 18, 1969.

³⁷Warren Saunderson, Assistant Director for Public Housing and Urban Renewal, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Interview, Ottawa, June 23, 1970.

³⁸June Craig, Tenant Relations Supervisor, Ottawa Housing Authority, Interview, Ottawa, June 1, 1970.

³⁹CWC, "Integration of Physical and Social Planning Report No. 1," p. 78.

CHAPTER V

THE DAY CAMPS

This chapter will examine the day camps that were provided for public housing children during the summer of 1970 in Ottawa. It will briefly outline the history, details and planning of the camps and examine what happened. A survey administered to children in the camps will be discussed.

History

In the summer of 1968, a great concern about activities for school-age children was expressed by a mothers' group in the Confederation Court public housing project. Following meetings with representatives from the municipal departments of Community Renewal and Recreation and Parks, a three-week day camp was established for children from the project aged seven to twelve years.

Because of the success of this program, agencies and departments in the city contributed to the operation of two two-week day camps during the summer of 1968. One camp period accommodated children from six to eight years of age; the other accommodated children from nine to twelve years of age.

Early in 1970 concern was expressed by the Tenant Relations Supervisor of the Ottawa Housing Authority about a need for day camps for public housing children throughout the city. Following a series of meetings with representatives from housing, social welfare, and recreation departments, the City Council of

Ottawa decided on May 19 to provide part of the funds for 12 two-week day camps to be operated by Department of Recreation and Parks staff. Other financial assistance would be obtained from the Ontario Housing Corporation. Approximately \$5,500. was provided by the City of Ottawa; approximately \$10,000 was provided by the Ontario Housing Corporation. Each day camp would accommodate 100 children, 90 of whom were to come from public housing projects and 10 of whom were to be recommended by public health nurses in the area.

It is interesting to note that two of the recommendations that were submitted for approval of City Council were:

That Council accept that the municipality has a serious responsibility in assisting to alleviate the social problems in Ontario Housing Projects which would appear to have been created or at least aggravated by the establishment of these high density areas.

That Council accept that a day camp program designed to serve the needs of the children living in public housing projects would be of vital assistance in the solution of the above-mentioned social problems.¹

Details

The twelve day camps were to be held in six schools whose use had been offered free of charge by the Public and Separate School Boards. The schools selected were fairly close to six of the largest public housing projects in Ottawa. Children from all projects were eligible, although it was expected that the six largest projects would probably supply the greatest number of children. Each day camp would be two weeks long and would run from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

The schedule for the camps appears in Table 2.

Planning

Planning for the day camps was handled jointly by the Ottawa Department of Recreation and Parks and the Ottawa Housing Authority, with the Department of Recreation and Parks assuming the major planning responsibility and the responsibility for operating the camps. Tenants of the public housing projects were not involved in the planning of the program, although they were asked to distribute flyers about the day camps a few days before registration.

Feeling of Tenants about the Camps

The author met with a number of tenant organizations within the two weeks preceding registration for the camps. During her discussions with them, tenants stated that they knew nothing about the camps. This was relayed to the Department of Recreation and Parks, and a meeting of representatives from tenant organizations was called on June 23, 1970. At the meeting tenant representatives were told the details of the camps and were asked to distribute pamphlets to units in their projects.

The author was interested in obtaining information from tenants regarding how they felt about having their children participate in segregated programs. As was mentioned in Chapter III, some tenants felt that segregated day camps would add to the segregation of residents and that they would feel like they lived in a ghetto. Other tenants, however, suggested that restricted programs were necessary to accommodate the large number of children who lived in the projects.

Table 2
DAY CAMPS FOR CHILDREN IN PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS
(Summer 1970)

Day Camp	Date	Age Group
Pinecrest Terrace (Queensway Public School)	July 6 - 17	7 - 9
Britannia Woods (Grant Public School)	July 6 - 17	7 - 9
Ridgemont Terrace (Charles Hulse Public School)	July 6 - 17	7 - 9
Pinecrest Terrace (Queensway Public School)	July 20 - 31	10 - 12
Britannia Woods (Grant Public School)	July 20 - 31	10 - 12
Ridgemont Terrace (Charles Hulse Public School)	July 20 - 31	10 - 12
Russell Heights (Vincent Massey Public School)	August 4 - 14	10 - 12
Confederation Court (St. Luke's Separate School)	August 4 - 14	10 - 12
Rochester Heights (St. Anthony's Separate School)	August 4 - 14	10 - 12
Russell Heights (Vincent Massey Public School)	August 17 - 28	7 - 9
Confederation Court (St. Luke's Separate School)	August 17 - 28	7 - 9
Rochester Heights (St. Anthony's Separate School)	August 17 - 28	7 - 9

Source: Department of Recreation and Parks, City of Ottawa.

An interesting comment was made by the chairman of a community association whose membership boundaries take in the neighborhood around and including one of the projects. He said that the children from the area and the project children were now integrating and that providing a segregated program such as the day camps might inhibit this integration.²

What Happened

Registration--Registration for all of the camps was held on July 2, 1970, at the schools where the camps were to take place. The registration was very low. In the afternoon, registration was moved to the project. Registration was still very low.

Opening the Camps--A decision was made to open the camps to all children, and a second registration was held following one day of publicity. Results of the registrations appear in Tables 3 and 4.

Survey

During the planning stage of this thesis, the author felt that it would be important to discover how children felt about being in a restricted program such as the day camps. For this reason a questionnaire was compiled and pretested in preparation for administration to children in the day camps. The major purpose of the survey was to find out how the children felt about being in a segregated program. The survey would also indicate whether children from the projects participated in regular community recreation programs and whether day camps

were of value to them; i.e. whether enjoyment, learning, and the establishment of relationships took place in the camps.

It was decided that the questionnaires would be administered only to the camps with age groups nine to twelve years. By the time the first group of nine to twelve year-old camps were to be held, the day camps had been opened to the public. It was, therefore, impossible to ascertain from the children how they felt about being in a restricted program. It was decided to go ahead with the survey to obtain the secondary information. Because of the limited value of the survey, the author does not feel that it is appropriate to discuss the methodology of this survey in this text. This information is given in Appendix 3.

For the purposes of this thesis, it is interesting to note the answers to certain questions. Question 11 of the survey asked "Do you attend activities at a recreation centre?" The answers to this question are found in Table 5. They indicate that a considerable percentage of children do not take part in activities in recreation centres. It is interesting to note that the project where the largest percentage of children took part in centre activities was Rochester Heights. This particular centre is housed in a church hall located on one corner of the project. Children from outside the projects who attended the day camps were surveyed as well. Of the children interviewed, only one took part in activities at a recreation centre. A check was made which indicated that half of these children had been referred to the camp by the school public health nurse. It is therefore likely that they came from a socio-economic background similar to that of children from the project.

Table 3
REGISTRATION FOR DAY CAMPS FOR CHILDREN AGE 7 TO 9 YEARS
(Summer 1970)

Day Camp	Reg.	Ref.	Total	Total After 1 day	Total After 5 days	Final total	Average Attendance over 2 wks.
Britannia Woods July 6 - 17	40	10	50	60	78	81	63
Pinecrest July 6 - 17	50	6	56	63	84	95	76
Ridgemont Terrace July 6 - 17	63	14	77	89	103	103	59
Confederation Ct. August 17 - 28	59	7	43				
Russell Heights August 17 - 28	39	4	43				
Rochester Heights August 17 - 28	30	4	34				

Source: Department of Recreation and Parks, City of Ottawa. Letter, August 12, 1970.

Table 4
REGISTRATION FOR DAY CAMPS FOR CHILDREN AGE 10 TO 12 YEARS
(Summer 1970)

Day Camp	Reg.	Ref.	Total	Total After 1 day	Total After 5 days	Final Total	Average Attendance over 2 wks.
Britannia Woods July 20 - 31	15	10	25	28	20	48	54
Pinecrest July 20 - 31	20	4	24	27	16	45	53
Ridgemont Terrace July 20 - 31	35		35	37	24	59	65
Russell Heights August 4 - 14	26	4	30				56
Confederation Ct. August 4 - 14	28	3	31				69
Rochester Heights August 4 - 14	17	4	21				48

Source: Department of Recreation and Parks, City of Ottawa, Letter, August 12, 1970.

The survey also asked, "Is there a playground near your home?" and "Do you play there?" Answers to these questions are found in Table 6. They indicate that a high proportion of children who attended the day camps were also making use of playgrounds operated by the Department of Recreation and Parks. It is difficult to postulate from this that a high proportion of all children in the projects make use of city operated playgrounds for a reason that was stated earlier in this thesis; namely that if programs are open to the public, then middle-class mothers will make sure that their children get to the registration. It is possible that the children who did register and attend day camps came from homes in the project where motivation is greater than in other homes. It may be that children who take advantage of programs such as day camps will also take advantage of play-grounds and other facilities.

The children at the day camps were also asked: (boys) "Do you belong to a hockey league?" (girls) "Do you belong to a ball team or other sports groups?" The answers appear in Tables 7 and 8. No specific conclusion can be drawn from these answers.

Why the Camps Had to Be Opened to the General Public

Organizer's Views

Several possible reasons for the low registration of public housing children were suggested by staff from the Department of Recreation and Parks and the Ottawa Housing Authority.³ One is that the publicity was inadequate and late. As mentioned above, many of the public housing tenants were not

Table 5

SURVEY REPLIES TO QUESTION 11:
DO YOU ATTEND ACTIVITIES AT A RECREATION CENTRE?

Project	Answer--yes	Answer--no
Britannia Woods	1 (program of Britannia Village Association sponsored by Department of Recreation and Parks)	5
Confederation Court	1 (special program where bused from project to Ottawa Boys Club)	5
Pinecrest Terrace	1	5
Ridgemont Terrace	1 1 (special program where bused to OBC)	4
Rochester Heights	3 (program by tenants' association sponsored by Department of Recreation and Parks)	3
Russell Heights	1 (Canturbury, Department of Recreation and Parks community centre)	5

Source: Survey administered to children attending day camps.

Table 6

SURVEY REPLIES TO QUESTION 12
12a. IS THERE A PLAYGROUND NEAR YOUR HOME?
12b. DO YOU PLAY THERE?
12c. (IF NO) WHY NOT?

Project	Answers - 12a		Answers 12b and c.	
Britannia Woods	yes (Britannia Park Dept. R & P)	5	yes sometimes	4
	yes	1	yes	1
Confederation Court	yes (Hawthorne Dept. R & P)	3	yes sometimes	2 1
	yes (project)	3	yes	3
Pinecrest Terrace	yes (Parkway Dept. R & P)	4	yes	4
	yes	2	yes	2
Ridgemont Terrace	yes	3	yes no	2 1 mother won't permit
	yes (Ridgemont Dept. R & P)	1	once in a while	1
	yes (near project)	1	not much	1
	no	1		
Rochester Heights	yes (project)	3	yes sometimes	1 2
	yes (Plouffe, McNabb Dept. R & P)	2	no	1 nothing to do 2 don't like supervisors
	yes (project and Plouffe)	1	sometimes	1 Plouffe too far
Russell Heights	yes (Balena Dept. R & P)	3	yes	3
	yes (project)	2	yes	2
	no	1		

Source: Survey administered to children attending day camps.

aware that the camps were to be held until just a few days before registration. The primary method of publicity was by flyers distributed through the projects. A second reason is that some of the camps were too far away, and busy streets such as Carling Avenue had to be crossed to reach them.

Third, a number of other day camps were offered in the city. One camp in the Britannia area which advertised in the Britannia Woods project had 22 individual children from the project in five camp periods.⁴ Three of these children were girls. Of the 19 boys who attended, many attended more than one session. Unfortunately, information is not available on the number of public housing project children involved in a day camp which operated one block away from the day camp established near the Rochester Heights project.

Four, there was apathy on the part of the parents. It was felt that many parents made no effort to encourage their child to register for the camp. When attendance of those children who did register was not consistent, follow-up checks were made with the parents. Weak excuses were often given, such as "Johnny doesn't like to get up."

The fifth reason suggested is that tenants were not involved in the planning and preparation of the program. The Summer Programme Report (1969) for Confederation Court and Russell Heights states that:

Parents of those low income families appreciate programme [sic] more when they recognize a need and actively involve themselves in the organization and operation of such.⁵

The Red Door report points out that:

Table 7

SURVEY REPLIES TO QUESTION 13 (BOYS)
13a. DO YOU BELONG TO A BALL TEAM OR A HOCKEY TEAM?
13b. (IF NO) WHY NOT?

Project	Answers - 13a.		Answers - 13b.	
Britannia Woods	yes (ball team)	1		
	no	3	1	sick and too late to join
			1	too late to join
			1	don't like playing in a league
Confederation Court	yes	2		
	yes (school)	1		
	no	1	1	never got a chance to join
Pinecrest Terrace	yes	2		
Ridgemont Terrace	yes (hockey)	1		
	no	3	1	none in area
			1	goes to baton
			1	doesn't like hockey but likes football but no league or baseball league he knows of
Rochester Heights	yes	1		
	no	2	1	doesn't like sports
			1	can't see very well
Russell Heights	yes (in project)	1		
	yes (in school)	1		
	no	3	1	no good at sports
			1	doesn't like Little League
			1	doesn't feel like playing baseball, there is no hockey league

Source: Survey administered to children attending day camps.

Table 8

SURVEY REPLIES TO QUESTION 13 (GIRLS)
13a. DO YOU BELONG TO A BALL TEAM OR OTHER SPORTS GROUP?
13b. (IF NO) WHY NOT?

Project				
Britannia Woods	yes	2		
Confederation Court	no	2	1	friend doesn't like sports
			1	don't know
Pinecrest Terrace	yes (school)	2		
	yes	1		
	no	1		
Ridgemont Terrace	yes	1		
	no	1	1	don't like sports
Rochester Heights	no	3	3	no team for girls in project
Russell Heights	no	1	1	no team like last year

Source: Survey administered to children attending day camps.

Programs and services provided by institutions will continue to lack a degree of success in many cases because externally composed programs and services are not relevant to the people's needs or wants, and because the people have no say in programs that directly affect them.⁶

Tenants' View

Tenants expressed concern about not being involved in the planning and operation of the day camps before camp registration. Much of the planning and volunteer work done for the day camp near Confederation Court in 1968 and 1969 was performed by the Mothers of Confederation, a mothers' group. This group was not consulted about the 1970 camps. The week before registration was to take place, the author spoke to one of the mothers who had been actively involved with the camps in 1968 and 1969.⁷ The Mothers of Confederation had contributed both time and money to the previous camps and had offered to do so in 1970. However, they were not asked to be involved in the camps by the organizers and, therefore, decided to contribute to a different program within the project. This particular mother felt that the camp for seven to nine year-olds was too late in the summer. School begins right after the exhibition is on. When the author explained that the organizers felt it would be best to have a younger camp during exhibition time, she said that seven to nine year-olds go to the exhibition as well as older children. She felt that she would probably not send her seven year-old to the camp in 1970.

Other tenants' organizations had offered to contribute money to the operation of day camps in the summer,⁸ but these offers were discouraged by politicians who said that the city would provide the money.⁹

It was noted earlier that tenants had also expressed concern about the lack of publicity for the camps. Tenants were not aware of the camps until shortly before registration.

The Interim Chairman of the Ottawa Tenants Council of Public Housing was contacted after the camps were opened to the public to obtain the tenants' opinion on why the camps had such a low registration from children living in public housing.¹⁰ He agreed with the organizers that poor publicity was a factor. Publicity was done just before registration was to take place by handing out applications.

He did not agree that one of the reasons was tenant apathy. He said that we have to understand that the people in public housing have been trodden on for many years. The management over the years has not been very helpful. Although things are changing now, people are still not sure of the landlord. The Housing Authority is the boss. When it and an organization like the Department of Recreation and Parks suddenly want to give the people day camps with no charge, the people are suspicious. They wonder what the gimmick is.

When asked whether the fact that the programs segregated the children from the rest of the community was a factor, he said that it wasn't. The people in public housing have been poor for a long time, and they don't worry about things like that. He also felt that tenants should be involved in establishing their own needs. He said:

If the local government--Recreation & Parks Department--wants to do something to help the 2,190 units in Ottawa,

they should ask the tenants what their needs are and then act on this information.¹¹

Views of Social Service Workers

Concern was expressed by some of the social service workers interviewed because the tenants were not involved in the planning and financing of the camps. They felt that by providing the camps free of charge, responsibility was being taken away from the people, and they were just being handed something. The camp director of a service organization in Ottawa said that they charge a one dollar registration fee for each child. This makes the parents committed. If the service were free, parents might just use it as a baby-sitting service.¹²

Some social service workers also suggested that the tenants needed to be involved in planning, not only so that they would feel responsible and committed to the program, but also that the program or a different one could be planned to meet their needs. They suggested that often what workers consider a need is not perceived as a need by the tenants.

Author's View

The author feels that the primary reasons why registration from the camps was so low are 1) the poor publicity, and 2) the lack of involvement of tenants in the planning, financing, and operating of the day camps. One of the reasons that both of these problems existed was that two organizations, the Department of Recreation and Parks and the Ottawa Housing Authority, were planning and organizing the camps. Each thought that the other was going to do certain things

which either were not done or were done late. Offers were made by the tenants' associations eight months before the camps were held to try to raise money for the camps.¹³ When the responsibility for the camps was handed to the Department of Recreation and Parks to operate, they had no knowledge that the associations had offered money to defray costs.¹⁴ It appears that there was a communications problem between the two organizations involved with the camps. As a result, publicity about the camps was poor, and the tenants, who had originally offered to help with the camps, were ignored, except to be asked to pass out flyers.

Implications of Having to Open the Day Camps to the Public

For other restricted programs--The author suspects that in the future, if residents of public housing projects request programs to be offered to their tenants alone, the request will likely be rejected on the grounds that full use was not made of the day camp restricted program.

For planning--The author feels that better use would have been made of the day camp program if tenants from the projects had been involved with the planning, financing, and operation of the program. The experience of several of the social service workers who were consulted suggests that people are not committed to programs in which they are involved only as receivers. Various studies in the social science field currently tell us that "planning from the top" creates social problems, alienation, and feelings of impotence.¹⁵ Citizen (client or consumer) participation is now being recommended. Michael Wheeler says:

. . . there would appear to be good reasons for assigning high priority to the participation of low-income people to policy making. They often have different insights, different information, different perspectives, different priorities from the professional or middle-class people who are conventionally the policy makers; they may also provide good advice about how best to effect a program in a low-income area.¹⁶

FOOTNOTES

- ¹City Council, City of Ottawa, Agenda, May 19, 1970, p. 48.
- ²Dick Avison, Chairman, Britannia Village Community Association, Interview, Ottawa, June 23, 1970.
- ³June Craig, Tenant Relations Supervisor, Ottawa Housing Authority, Interview by telephone, July 22, 1970.
- Nora Campbell, Department of Recreation and Parks, City of Ottawa, Interview by telephone, July 22, 1970.
- ⁴Robert Schmidt, Director, Britannia Extension Programme, Ottawa Boys' Club, Letter, Ottawa, December 17, 1970.
- ⁵Ann Altimas, "Summer Programme Report 1969 for Confederation Court and Russell Heights," prepared for the Ottawa Housing Authority, Ottawa, 1969.
- ⁶Area Development Project, The Red Door (Vancouver: United Community Services of the Greater Vancouver Area, 1968), pp. 22-23.
- ⁷Joyce Pownall, Mothers of Confederation, Interview, Ottawa, June 22, 1970.
- ⁸June Craig, Interview, Ottawa, June 25, 1970.
- ⁹Marian Ramsden, Public Health Nurse, Ottawa-Carleton Department of Health, Interview, June 11, 1970.
- ¹⁰Peter Lawrence, Interim Chairman, Ottawa Tenants Council of Public Housing, Interview by Telephone, February 24, 1971.
- ¹¹Peter Lawrence, Letter, Ottawa, March 15, 1971.
- ¹²Robert Schmidt, Interview, Ottawa, June 4, 1970.
- ¹³June Craig, Interview, Ottawa, June 25, 1970.
- ¹⁴John Tucker, Director of Programmes, Department of Recreation and Parks, Interview, Ottawa, June 19, 1970.

¹⁵William W. and Loureide J. Biddle, The Community Development Process: The Rediscovery of Local Initiative (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965).

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¹⁶Michael Wheeler, "Social Aspects of Low-Income Housing" (Ottawa: 1967), p. 4. (Mimeographed.)

CHAPTER VI

ALTERNATIVES, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter will explore alternatives to the solution of whether social services should be provided to public housing residents on a segregated or integrated basis. It will state a conclusion and make recommendations.

Alternative One

Build No More Public Housing

The question of whether public housing should or should not continue to be built was not dealt with in this thesis. Nor were alternatives to public housing discussed. However, building no more public housing would not solve the social and psychological problems of the thousands of people who are living in approximately 148,000 units of public housing in Canada at present.

Alternative Two

Build Public Housing in the Present Form and Provide no Social or Recreation Facilities and no Social Services Directly to the Tenants

Continuing to build public housing as we are at present with no provision of social and recreation facilities or direct provision of social services will allow the social and psychological problems of public housing tenants to continue and may, as suggested earlier in this thesis, only create more problems. Without the provision of social and recreation facilities, people will not have a place to

gather and organize themselves so that they might create a better community.

Without provision of social services that are easily accessible to the tenants of the public housing projects, it is likely that social services will be used on only a limited basis. Problem families may not be reached, or will be reached only when a crisis arises and not at a time when the crisis might have been prevented.

Alternative Three

Build Public Housing with Social and Recreation Facilities, but with Social Services Delivered as They are at Present

Under the new regulations of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the Ontario Housing Corporation which were noted earlier (p. 33), social and recreational facilities will be provided in the larger public housing projects. With the provision of social and recreation facilities in public housing projects, tenants will have a place to meet, possibly to organize themselves, to enjoy recreation as an outlet, and to build community spirit. However, many organizations, whether they are of welfare recipients or businessmen, frequently have difficulties related to inter-personal matters and communication. By just providing tenants with facilities, it is possible that, even with good intentions on their part, organizations will flounder if a community development worker is not available to assist them. This possibility is supported by the experience of the Red Door project in Vancouver.

If social services are provided as they are at present, the difficulties outlined in Alternative Two will still arise.

Alternative Four

Build Public Housing with Social and Recreation Facilities and with the Provision of Social Services on the Grounds of the Project

The provision of social and recreation facilities would be beneficial as outlined in Alternative Three. If public and private agencies were to provide programs and staff within the public housing projects, more benefits would be obtained by the residents. It is very possible that more preventive work could be done than is presently the case. Mothers might be able to obtain counselling before their problems reach the point where suicide seems to be the only answer. Unemployed tenants might be involved in retraining programs. Children might attend pre-school and after-four programs, which could provide them with up-grading and motivation. Immunization, and counselling would also be readily available.

Alternative Five

Build Public Housing with Social and Recreation Facilities. Provide Social Services, which are open to the Outside Community, on the Grounds of the Project. Allow Residents of the project and the Outside Community to Participate in the Planning and Delivery of these Services

This alternative would have all of the benefits which were outlined in Alternative Four, but would likely be more effective because tenants would be participating in the provision of programs and services to themselves. As was pointed out earlier in this thesis, low-income families often have different needs than those perceived by the middle-class professional who may be offering

a service. They also know best how to effect a program in a low-income area. However, it will not be possible for tenants to be able to participate on this level unless they acquire abilities to identify their problems, assess their needs, and search for and decide upon alternatives. They must be able to work with each other and develop skills in self-help, cooperation, and communication. In order to do this, they, as any other group, require the assistance of an outside developer--a community development worker.

Alternative Six

Build Public Housing with Social and Recreation Facilities. Provide Social Services, Which are Open to the Outside Community, on the Grounds of the Project. Allow Residents of the Project and the outside Community to Participate in the Planning and Delivery of these Services. Provide a Community Development Worker

It would not be possible to attain all of the benefits of Alternative Five unless a community development worker were provided. If Alternative Six were adopted, the following benefits would be obtained:

1. Because they would have social and recreational facilities,
 - a. they would have a place to meet and organize themselves,
 - b. they would have a place to focus the building of community spirit,
 - c. they would have a place to take part in recreational activities as a physical and emotional outlet.
2. Because they would have social services easily accessible to them,

- a. tenants would be more likely to participate in preventive services such as immunization clinics and pre-school programs,
 - b. problems could be handled before they reached the crisis stage.
3. Because they would be participating in the planning and delivery of social services to themselves,
- a. their needs would more likely be met than if middle-class social service workers were planning the programs,
 - b. this would mean that services would more likely be used.
4. Because they would have the assistance of a community development worker,
- a. they would be able to overcome the difficulties of organizing themselves,
 - b. they would learn to express the needs of their community, examine alternatives, and decide on an appropriate course of action,
 - c. through community participation and self-help, they would increase their sense of self-worth,
 - d. they would, as suggested in The Red Door report, gain in feelings of self-worth which would lead gradually to the realization of greater capacities,

- e. integration of tenants with the outside community would be facilitated.

This thesis has pointed out that tenants quoted in the booklet A Tenant Looks at Public Housing recommended that community development workers be provided in public housing projects. A few tenants in Ottawa also expressed this need. Recommendations for community development were made by such conferences as the Canadian Conference on Housing, the Workshops on Integration of Physical and Social Planning, and the Ontario Welfare Council Conference. A number of social service workers stressed the need for community development amongst tenants in public housing projects. Their opinion appears to be justified when one considers the results of the demonstration project in community development in Vancouver.

Conclusions

The conclusion of this thesis is that Alternative Six is the appropriate one. Social and recreation facilities should be provided for public housing projects. Social services that are controlled by the tenants should be available on the grounds on the project and should be open to members of the surrounding community. A community development worker, whose role would be to help the tenants organize themselves and develop the skills necessary to do so, should be provided.

These services, particularly those of social services and a community development worker, are necessary, not only for public housing projects, but

for all low-income areas in urban centres. Public and private agencies within municipalities must assess the needs of their clients and provide services effectively.

It would appear that social services in the form outlined in Alternative Six must be provided specifically for public housing residents. Integration with the surrounding community and into services provided for the community at large will likely follow as a second step.

Recommendations

1. The aims of public housing should be outlined by the governments responsible for the provision of it. Once these aims are outlined, public housing as it now exists should be carefully examined to see if it is achieving those aims.

2. Further research is required in many aspects of public housing. The most pressing need would appear to be research into (1) who is living in public housing? (2) why do they require it? (3) what are their needs? (4) are they, and the community at large, benefiting from public housing?

3. Before public housing is provided in a community, residents of that community should be educated about the need for public housing, about the kind of people who will be moving into the community, and about the kinds of services which will be available if problems are created in the community by the provision of public housing.

4. Public and private social service agencies should (a) assess whether their present methods of delivering social services are really meeting the

needs of their clients and are really reaching those who require services most, and (b) make greater efforts to involve their clients (consumers) in the planning operation of their services.

5. Central Mortgage and Housing, the provincial housing corporations, and the municipal housing authorities should carefully examine the need for community development among their tenants and look for methods of financing community development workers. Community development can be threatening to organizations such as those mentioned above because when people are able to organize themselves, to assess their needs, and look for solutions to their problems, they may make requests or demands that are difficult for an organization to deal with. But if public housing is to accomplish certain social aims, then perhaps community development is necessary to achieve such aims.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Sections 35A and 35D National Housing Act

Section 35A

(1) The Corporation may, pursuant to agreements made between the Government of Canada and the government or any province, undertake jointly with the government of the province or any agency thereof projects for

- (a) the acquisition and development of land for housing purposes;
- (b) the construction of housing projects or housing accommodation of the hostel or dormitory type for sale or for rent;
- (c) the acquisition, improvement and conversion of existing buildings for housing project or for housing accommodation of the hostel or dormitory type.

(2) The amount of the capital cost and the profits and losses to be borne by the Corporation pursuant to an agreement referred to in subsection (1) shall not exceed seventy-five per cent of such capital cost, profits and losses, and such agreement shall contain such other provisions as are considered necessary or advisable to give effect to the purposes and provisions of this section and, notwithstanding section 18 of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation Act, shall be executed on behalf of the Government of Canada by the Minister with the approval of the Governor in Council.

(3) Subject to subsection (5), out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund, the Minister

(a) may advance to the Corporation for the purpose of meeting the Corporation's share of the capital cost of projects undertaken under this section such amounts as may be requested by the Corporation, on such terms and conditions as are approved by the Minister of Finance, and the Corporation shall give to the Minister in respect of such advances debentures or other evidences of indebtedness as the Minister may require;

(b) shall reimburse the Corporation for losses sustained by it as a result of the sale or operation of any of the projects undertaken by the Corporation under this section and for its share of preliminary costs and expenses of investigation of projects that are abandoned;

(c) shall reimburse the Corporation for payments made by the Corporation to public housing agencies, pursuant to agreements entered into under section 35E; and

(d) shall pay to the Corporation, pursuant to an agreement between the Corporation and the Minister, the costs and expenses incurred by the Corporation in carrying out an agreement entered into under section 35E.

(4) A special account shall be established in the Consolidated Revenue Fund for the purposes of this section to which advances made under subsection (3) shall be charged.

(5) A payment of an advance or reimbursement under subsection (3) shall not be greater than the amount by which the aggregate of

- (a) one hundred and fifty million dollars, and
- (b) any additional amounts authorized by Parliament for the purposes of this subsection

exceeds the aggregate of

- (c) the total amount of advances charged to the special account, and
- (d) the total amount of reimbursements made under subsection (3).

(6) The Governor in Council may make regulations with respect to the projects that may be undertaken by the Corporation under this section prescribing

- (a) the type of land that may be acquired for housing purposes and the maximum purchase price that may be paid for such land;
- (b) the type, maximum costs and rentals of housing units that may be constructed;
- (c) the number of housing units for which commitments may be given;
- (d) the rates of interest and amortization that may be charged against the capital costs of a project undertaken under this section;
- (e) the conditions under which family housing units may be sold or leased; and

- (f) any other matters deemed necessary or advisable to carry out the purposes or provisions of this section.

Section 35D:

(1) The Corporation may make a loan to a province, municipality or public housing agency for the construction or acquisition of a public housing project.

(2) A loan made under the authority of this section shall

(a) bear interest at a rate prescribed by the Governor in Council;

(b) not exceed ninety percent of the cost of the project as determined by the Corporation;

(c) be for a term not exceeding the useful life of the project, to be fixed by the Corporation, and in any case not exceeding fifty years from the date of completion or acquisition of the project;

(d) be secured by a first mortgage upon the project in favour of the Corporation; and

(e) be repayable in full

(i) during the term thereof by equal payments of principal and interest, not less frequently than annually, or

(ii) at such time during the term thereof as the project ceases to be operated as a public housing project or is sold in whole or in part on terms not acceptable to the Corporation.

APPENDIX 2

* Statement on Public Housing Program
by
The Honourable Robert K. Andras
Minister Responsible for Housing
House of Commons, April 21, 1970

At the present time tenants in low-income housing who are receiving welfare payments pay an amount of rent that is equal to the shelter payments which they receive from the welfare agency. All other tenants pay a rent based on their income. The present rent range is from 16.7% of the low to 30% at the higher level of income.

This 30-percent rate was set at a time when families who had reached this level of income could reasonably be expected to fend for themselves on the open market. It was expected that, at this stage, they would move into other accommodation.

In the present housing market, however, many families--particularly those with a large number of children--have a great deal of difficulty in finding other accommodation when they reach the income level at which the 30-percent rate comes into effect. They are obliged to stay on in public housing even though they are paying what amounts to an uneconomic rent. In Ontario and Newfoundland provincial government have frozen the rents of such tenants.

Since the level of assistance is based on the simple criterion of income, it imposes a substantially greater burden on a family with five or six children than on a family with one or two children. Although their incomes are the same, the large family is less able to pay.

Where a wife goes out to work, her earnings over \$250.00 are regarded as family income and the excess is added to the husband's in arriving at a rent. On the other hand, no compensation is allowed for one-parent families who don't have this opportunity for additional earning power. For all tenants, additional earnings normally result in additional rent charges almost immediately.

These are some of the inequities which we would like to deal with in proposing revisions in the matter of rents.

We are proposing that:

1. Family size should be taken into account in arriving at rents.

Taking a family with two children as the base, we are proposing to make a reduction in the rent for each child over that number--for instance, a reduction of \$2.00 per month for each child after the second.

2. Working wives should be allowed to make substantially more than \$250.00 a year before it is considered as income for the purpose of calculating rent. We are proposing a level of \$900.00.

3. Similarly, incomes of one-parent families--for the purpose of calculating rents--would be reduced by up to \$900.00.

4. The portion of income required as rents from families in the higher

income ranges would be reduced from 30 per cent to 25 per cent, to avoid imposing undue hardships on tenants, particularly large families, who can not find alternative accommodation in the present market.

By way of illustration, let us look at the case of a family with five children, and an income of \$4,000 and see what the effect would be of these changes in the amounts proposed .

The family now pays a monthly rent of \$80.00. Under a revised scale, with children's allowance, the rent would be reduced to \$68.00.

If it were a one-parent family, the rent would drop further to \$43.00--an overall reduction of \$37.00 a month.

At a level of \$5,500, the two-parent family would receive a reduction of \$15.00 a month. If it was a one-parent family, the reduction would be \$39.00 a month.

5. The final revision which we are proposing, in the matter of rents, is the method of adjusting rents as income changes. At the present time, tenants must notify the housing authority as soon as their income increases and the rent is raised. We feel all tenants should be entitled to enjoy the security of a fixed rent over a reasonable period of time. For this reason we are prepared to have tenants report their incomes at intervals of two years, at which time any increase in rent would be put into effect. On the other hand a reduction in income can be reported at any time and the rent reduced an appropriate amount.

Before I leave the subject of rents I would like to emphasize that any revisions will be undertaken after consultation with the provincial governments and with their co-operation. We would like to build the greatest possible latitude into these arrangements so that they would be flexible enough to meet particular local conditions. Some provinces may wish to charge rents that are not precisely in accord with the federal scale. In this event, it is proposed that the federal subsidy would be either half of the project losses, or half what the losses would have been if the federal scale had been adopted--whichever is less.

We have already held a round of talks with provincial authorities and the initial response indicates a substantial measure of agreement with the objects we are endeavouring to achieve.

APPENDIX 3

Survey of Children at Day Camps

The survey which was administered to children in the day camps was originally designed to provide data on three subjects: 1) how do children feel about being in a segregated program, 2) do children from public housing projects usually participate in regular programs, and 3) is the camp of value to them in terms of enjoyment, learning, and establishing relationships.

The survey was pretested at a day camp for children ten to twelve years of age in Edmonton, Alberta. As a result of the pretest, minor changes were made in the wording of certain questions.

It was noted in the body of the thesis (p. 73) that before the survey could be administered, the questions relating to how children feel about being in segregated programs were invalidated because the camps had to be opened to the public. Questions about how the children learned about the camps were substituted.

The survey was administered to children in all six of the day camps for children aged nine to twelve. Using a random sampling technique, six children from public housing projects and two children from private neighborhoods were selected to be interviewed in each camp. The survey constituted a standardized interview with each child.

The questionnaire was as follows:

DAY CAMP SURVEY

July and August 1970

Age _____

Sex _____

P

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1. What do you like best about this camp?
2. What do you like least about it?
3. What did you learn at this camp that you found most interesting?
4. Do you have a favorite counsellor here?
5.
 - a. Did you make new friends at this camp?
 - b. Do they live near you?
6. How did you find out about this camp?
- *
8.
 - a. Would you like to attend this same kind of camp next year?
 - b. (if yes) Why?
(if no) Why not?
9. What do you usually do at recess and noon hour when you are at school?
10. Do the children you usually play with during the school year live near your home?
11. Do you attend activities at a recreation centre?
12.
 - a. Is there a playground near your home?
 - b. (if yes) Do you play there?
 - c. (if no to 12 b.) Why not?
13. (boys)
 - a. Do you belong to a ball team or a hockey league?
 - b. (if no) Why not?(girls)
 - a. Do you belong to a ball team or other sports group?
 - b. (if no) Why not?

*Because two questions were removed and only one substituted, there is no question number 7.

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